

ARCHAEOLOGIA:
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MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
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ARCHAEOLOGIA

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

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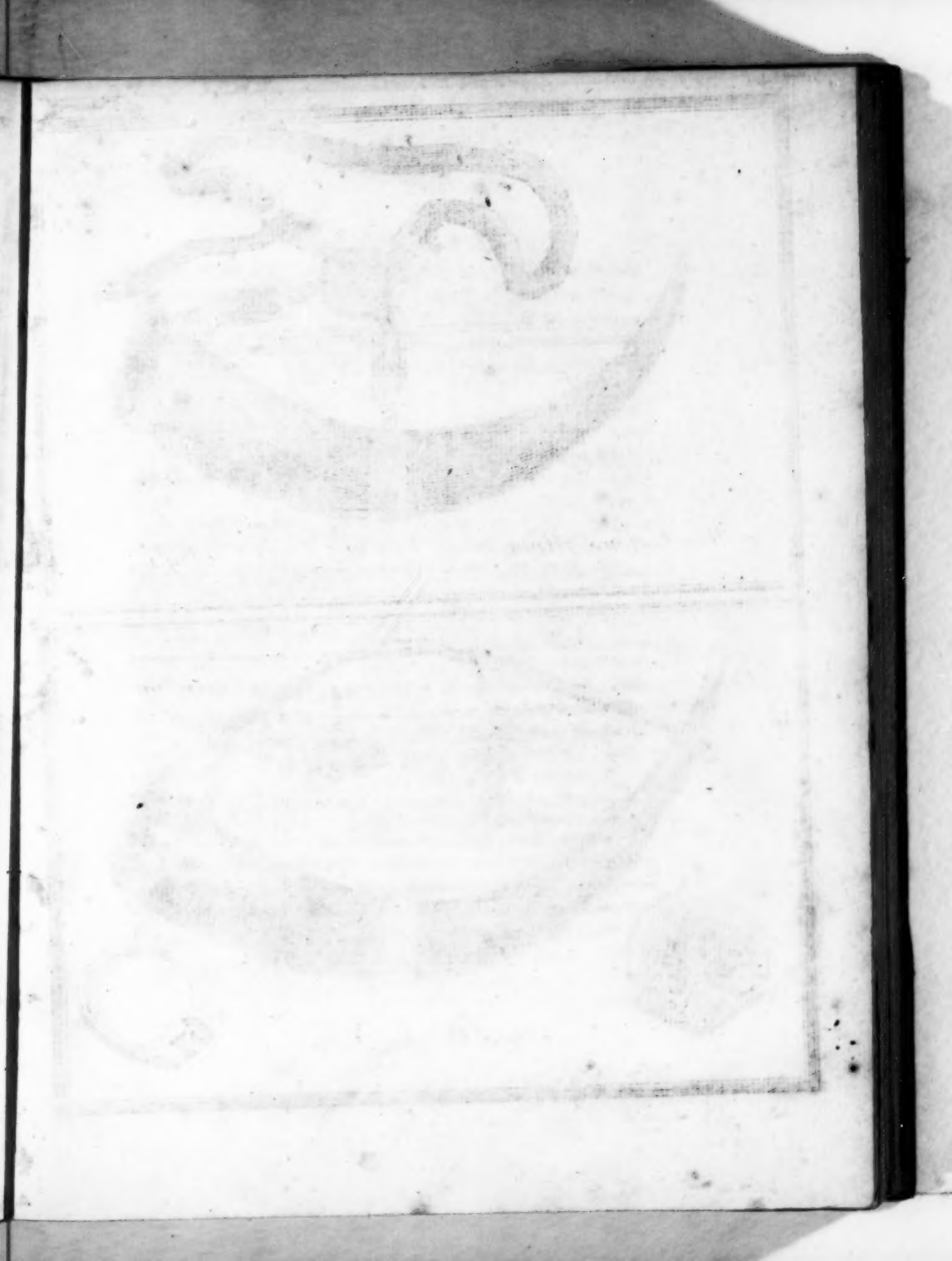
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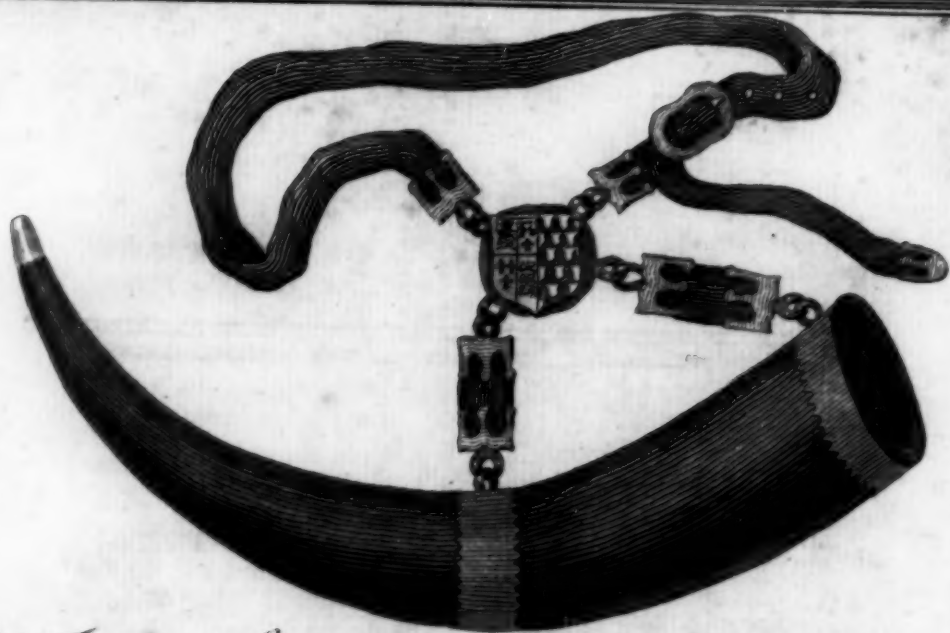
- I. *Of the Horn, as a Charter or Instrument of Conveyance. Some Observations on Mr. Samuel Foxlowe's Horn; as likewise on the Nature and kinds of these Horns in general. By Mr. Pegge.* p. 1
- II. *Of the Pusey Horn.* p. 13
- III. *Of the Botstal Horn* p. 15
- IV. *Account of the Horn belonging to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in a Letter to Mr. Gough, from the Rev. Mr. Tyson, Fellow of the said College.* p. 19
- V. *Extract from the Will of Thomas earl of Ormond, dated July 31, 1515. From the Register called Holder in the Perogative Office. Communicated by Thomas Astle, Esquire.* p. 20
- VI. *Account of certain Charter Horns in the Cathedral of Carlisle. By Bishop Lyttelton.* p. 22
- VII. *On Lord Bruce's Horn. By the Reverend Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, and President of the Society of Antiquaries.* p. 24
- VIII. *Some Account of two Musical Instruments used in Wales. By the Hon. Daines Barrington.* p. 30
- IX. *On the Antiquity of Horse Shoes. A letter to the Rev. Jeremiah Milles, D. D. Dean of Exeter, and President of the Society of Antiquaries of London. By Charles Rogers, Esquire.* p. 35
- X. *On Shoeing of Horses amongst the Ancients. By the Rev. Mr. Pegge.* p. 39
- XI. *The*

- XI. *The Question considered, whether England formerly produced any Wine from Grapes.* By the Rev. Mr. Pegge. p. 53
 XII. *Mr. Pegge's Observations on the Growth of the Vine in England considered and answered, by the Hon. Daines Barrington, in a Letter to the Rev. the Dean of Exeter.* p. 67
 XIII. *On the Boundary Stone of Croyland Abbey.* By Governor Pownall, M. P. F. R. S. p. 96
 XIV. *Remarks on Belatucader.* By the Rev. Mr. Pegge. p. 101
 XV. *Mr. Gough, on the Deae Matres.* p. 105
 XVI. *Observations in a Tour through South-Wales, Shropshire, &c.* By Owen Salusbury Brereton, Esq. p. 111
 XVII. *Observations on some Roman Altars found in August, 1771, near Graham's Dyke.* By Mr. Gough. p. 118
 XVIII. *Memoir concerning the Sac-Friars, or Fratres de Poenitentia Jesu Christi, as settled here in England.* By the Rev. Mr. Pegge. p. 125
 XIX. *Ἀντιστρίψαν Ἀγών. A Memoir on Cock-fighting; wherein the Antiquity of it, as a Pastime, is examined and stated; some Errors of the Moderns concerning it are corrected; and the Retention of it amongst Christians is absolutely condemned and proscribed.* By the Rev. Mr. Pegge. p. 132
 XX. *An Inscription in honour of Serapis, found at York, illustrated by Mr. Pegge.* p. 151
 XXI. *Extracts from a MS. dated "apud Eltham mense Jan. 22 Hen. VIII." Communicated to the Society by Owen Salusbury Brereton, Esq;* p. 154
 XXII. *Observations on the Parthian Epochas found on a Coin in the Imperial Cabinet at Vienna published by Father Erasmus Froelich, in his Elementa Numismatica, Tab. xiv. n. 6.* By John Reinhold Forster, F. R. and A. S. p. 159
 XXIII. *A Dissertation on a singular Coin of Nerva, in a Letter to Matthew Duane, Esquire, from the Rev. Mr. Ashby, B. D. President of St. John's College, Cambridge,* p. 165
 XXIV.

- XXIV. *An historical Description of an ancient Picture in Windfor-
castle, representing the Interview between king Henry VIII. and
the French king Francis I. between Guines and Ardres, in the
year 1520. By Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Baronet, V. P. A. S. and
F. R. S.* p. 185
- XXV. *Observations on the Inscriptions upon three ancient Marbles,
said to have been brought from Smyrna, and now in the British
Museum. In a letter from Thomas Tyrwhitt, Esq. to Matthew
Duane, Esq. Communicated by Mr. Duane.* p. 230
- XXVI. *An Account of an undescribed Roman Station in Derbyshire.
By the Rev. Mr. Watson; in a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Norris,
Secretary* p. 236
- XXVII. *An Account of some ancient English Historical Paintings at
Cowdry, in Suffex. By Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Bart. V. P. A. S.
and F. R. S.* p. 239
- XXVIII. *Account of opening one of the largest Barrows on Sandford
Moor, Westmoreland. In a Letter from Mr. William Preston,
dated Warcop Hall, Sept. 5, 1766, to Bishop Lyttelton.* p. 273
- XXIX. *Discoveries in a Barrow in Derbyshire. Communicated by
Mr. Mander, of Bakewell, in the said County* p. 274
- XXX. *Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Mr. George Low, to
Mr. Paton, of Edinburgh. Communicated by Mr. Gough.* p. 276
- XXXI. *On the Expiration of the Cornish Language. In a Letter
from the Hon. Daines Barrington, Vice President S. A. to John
Lloyd, Esquire.* p. 278
- XXXII. *On the Descent of Titles of Honour, particularly Baronies,
through the Female Line: Transcribed from a MS. of Mr. Saynt-
lowe Kniveton.* p. 285
- XXXIII. *Description of the Carn Braich y Dinas, on the Summit
of Pen-maen-mawr, in Caernarvonshire. By Governor
Pownall.* p. 303
- XXXIV.

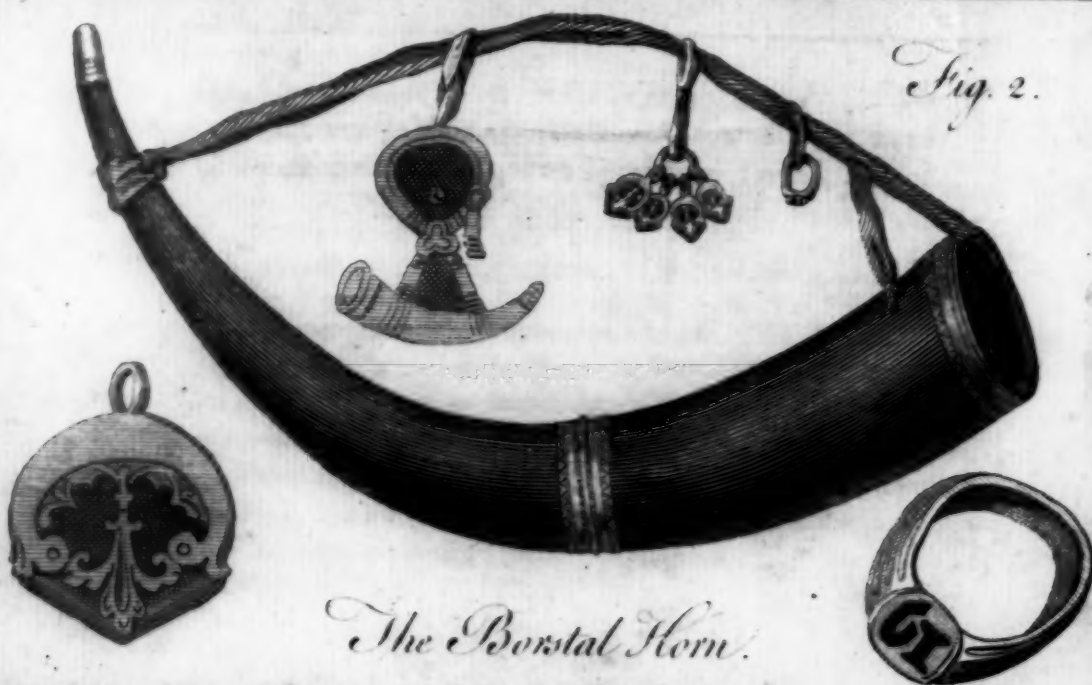
- XXXIV. *A Letter from Mr. Pegge to Dr. Percy, on the Minstrels among the ancient Saxons, occasioned by some Observations on the Subject printed in the second Volume.* p. 310
- XXXV. *Remark on the Abbey Church of Bury St. Edmund in Suffolk. By Edward King, Esquire, in a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Norris, Secretary.* p. 311
- XXXVI. *Remarks on the first Noble, coined 18 Edward III. A. D. 1344. wherein a new and more rational Interpretation is given of the Legend on the Reverse. By the Rev. Mr. Pegge.* p. 316
- XXXVII. *Observation on the Corbridge altars. By the Hon. Daines Barrington. In a Letter to the President.* p. 324
- XXXVIII. *Observations on the Corbridge Altar described in the second Volume, p. 92. In a Letter to the Hon. Daines Barrington, Vice President, from Thomas Morell, D. D. Secretary, p. 332*
- XXXIX. *An Account of some ancient Roman Inscriptions, lately discovered in the Provinces of Istria and Dalmatia, with Remarks. In a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, and President of the Society of Antiquaries, from John Strange, Esq. p. 337*
- XL. *Further Observations on Pen-maen-maur. By Governor Pownall. In a Letter to Mr. Gough.* p. 350
- XLI. *An Account of some Irish Antiquities. By Gov. Pownall. p. 355*
- XLII. *Observations on two Jewels in the possession of Sir Charles Mordaunt, Bart. By the Rev. Mr. Pegge.* p. 371
- XLIII. *An Account of the Body of king Edward the First, as it appeared on opening his Tomb in the Year 1774. By Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Bart. V. P. S. A. and S. A. S.* p. 376
- XLIV. *A Letter from Sir William Blackstone, Knt. to the Hon. Daines Barrington, describing an antique Seal; with some Observations on its Original, and the two successive Controversies which the Dispute of it afterwards occasioned.* p. 414





M^r Foxlows Horn.

Fig. 1.



The Borstal Horn.

ARCHAEOLOGIA:

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS, &c.

I. Of the Horn, as a Charter or Instrument of Conveyance. Some Observations on Mr. Samuel Fogg's Horn; as likewise on the Nature and Kinds of these Horns in general. By Mr. Pegge.

Read at the Society of ANTIQVARIIS, Feb. 6, 1772.

AMONGST the various methods of transferring inheritances in use with our ancestors was that of conveying them by a Horn, either in Frank Almoigne, or in Fee, or in Serjeantry. Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland, particularly specifies the Horn amongst those things whereby lands were conveyed in the beginning of the Conqueror's reign. His words are too remarkable to be omitted on this occasion; *Conferrebantur etiam primo multo*
Vol. III.

* *praedia nudo verbo, absque scripto vel charta, tantum cum domini
 * gladio, vel galea, vel cornu, vel cratera; et plurima tenementa cum
 * calcari, cum strigili, cum arcu; et nonnulla cum sagitta.* At first
 * (says he, speaking of the Conqueror's time) many estates were
 * transferred by bare word of mouth, without any writing or char-
 * ter, only by the Lord's sword, or helmet, or horn, or cup; and
 * many tenements by a spur, a scraper, a bow; and some by an
 * arrow [a]. It should seem by this account given us by Ingul-
 * phus, which is so clear and express, that the implement was always
 such as was well known to have belonged to the donor or grantor.

In confirmation of this testimony I shall here report a few
 cases as they have been recorded in authors. First, in regard to
 Frank Almoigne; Ulphus's Horn, made of ivory, and now pre-
 served in the vestry of the church of York, was presented by him
 to that church in token of his bestowing upon God and St. Peter
 all his lands, tenements, &c. [b]. I presume it might be the richest
 and most valuable moveable the magnificent donor was possessed
 of. Here I may also mention the privileges granted by king Ed-
 gar to Glanbury abbey, *Ubi ergo . . . haec privilegia ipsi
 * loco conferre disposuit (rex Edgarus). lituum proprium,* says
 Malmesbury, *choro decentissimo formatum, auroque decoratum super
 * altare sanctae Dei genetricis posuit; ipsiusque donatione eidem
 * sanctae Dei genetrici ac suis monachis ea perpetualiter possidenda
 * attribuit: eundemque lituum mox in sui praesentia fecit fecari in
 * medium, ne cum cuiquam dare vel vendere posset quilibet abbatum [c]*

[a] Ingulphus, p. 70.

[b] Camden, Brit. col. 881. Dugda Monast. III. p. 173. Mr. Drake, the in-
 comparable York Antiquary, has given a very complete account, with an accu-
 rate drawing, of this Horn, in his Eboracum, p. 479, 481, 544. See also the
 Prints of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. I. pl. III. and Mr. Samuel Gale's Me-
 moir on this subject, printed in the first volume of the Archaeologia, p. 168;
 which paper I had not seen when this was composed.

[c] So we should read, for *ablutum sequentium*. See Hickes's Thes. II. p. 84.

sequentium præcipiens partem illius servari in loca [d] ad jam dictæ donationis testimonium [e].

As to estates in fee, the family of Pusey held the village of Pusey in Berkshire by a Horn, which was first given to William Picote by king Canute [f].

In regard thirdly to services, we read that Sir Robert Plumptre, knight, 11 H. VI, died possessed of one bovat in Mansfield Woodhouse, called Wolfhuntland, held by the service of winding a Horn, and driving or frightening the wolves in the forest of Shirewood [g]. It does not certainly appear in this case (no mention being made of any thing else but the service,) that Plumptre had a Horn in his possession for a title, though very probably he had; and therefore I proceed to something better assured.

In Bishop Kennet's Parochial Antiquities, Edward the Confessor gives the rangerhip of Bernwode forest in Bucks, with a hyde of land, to Nigel and his heirs, to be held by a Horn [h]. This

[d] It seems to mean a lock, or rather a chest locked, or a locker; unless we ought to read, as is most probable, *in loco*, meaning in the abbey or monastery, on the spot; the other half perhaps he took away.

[e] Gul. Malm. p. 57. Milo, earl of Hereford, A. D. 1141, gave half his fisheries to the canons of Lanthoni, c. Gloucester, by delivering a gold ring on the altar of their church. Atkins's Glouc. p. 272.

[f] Mr. Camden and Bishop Gibson in Camd. Brit. col. 163. Dr. Hicke's Thes. Præf. p. xxv. and tom. II. p. 84. where the inscription on this horn is engraved.

[g] Thoroton, Antiq. Nottinghamshire, p. 273.

[h] *Tenenda per unum cornu, quid est charta prædictæ foreste.* See the case of the Danish Axe, in Dugdale's Warw. fol. 765. Randal de Meschines, the third Norman earl of Chester, about the year 1124, conferred upon Allan Silvestris the bailiwick of the forest of Wirall, by the delivery of a Horn (a bugle Horn), which is still (anno 1751) preserved at Hooton. To this Alan Silvestris, Randal Gernouns, the fourth Norman earl of Chester (son to Randal de Meschines) gave Stourton and Pudcan (now Puddington) in Wirall. This forest was disforested, and the lands began to be inclosed, in the reign of king

Nigel had killed a large boar there, and this was his remuneration; whereupon the words of the learned Dr. Hickes are, 'Nigel ille ex cynegeta gregario, cynegetarum, five venatorum regionum tribunus factus erat, *cornuque venatorium* istud quod apud sedis *Borstaliensis* dominum vidit Kennetus, non tantum ut donationis, sed ut *Cornicinis officii symbolum*, Nigello datum esse videtur [i]. We also read in Blount's Tenures, 'Walter Achard or Agard claimed to hold by inheritance the office of escheator and coroner through the whole honour of Tutbury in com. Staff. and the bailiwick of Leyke, *pro quo officio nullas evidencias, carta [k], vel alia scripta proferre possit, nisi tantum cornu venatorium album, argento inaurato in medio et utroque fine decoratum; cui etiam affingitur cingulum byssi nigri fibulis quibusdam argenteis ornatum, in medio quorum posita sunt insignia Edmundi Secundi, filii regis Henrici Tertii; i. e. a white hunter's Horn, garnished with silver gilt, in the middle and at both ends, to which is affixed a girdle of black silk, adorned with certain buckles of silver [l].'*

It is remarked by Ingulphus, that this custom of conveying *sine scriptis*, and by means of these symbols, prevailed at the beginning of the Conqueror's reign, but was afterwards altered. However it seems it was not so generally altered but that in these

Edward III. Edric, surnamed Silvaticus or the Forester, was the supposed ancestor of Alan Silvestris, and of the Silvesters of Stourton, Foresters of Wirall, whose daughter and heiress married the head of that ancient and honourable family of the Stanleys, the descendants of which match have been for several centuries seated at Hooton in Wirall. The arms of Edric (who was a great warrior) on a shield Argent a large tree torn up by the roots, Vert, since borne by the Silvesters of Stourton in Wirall, are impressed on the Horn.

[i] Hickes, Thes. II. p. 84.

[k] *Leges cartarum*.

[l] Blount's Ancient Tenures, p. 25, citing 'MS. D. de S. Kniveton, fol. 249.' He means the famous Antiquary, St. Lo Kniveton.

cases of serjeantry, or services to be performed, the same method was still pursued; for the honour of Tutbury was not erected till after the time he mentions, at least these offices were not; for our Horn, by which they were conferred, is not of so great antiquity.

BUT as I have had the pleasure of seeing this curious monument of antiquity, by the favour of my valuable friend, Mr. Samuel Foxlowe, of Staveley, (steward to the Honourable Richard Cavendish, esquire), who enjoys the posts above-mentioned by this tenure, and in virtue of his being in possession of this Horn, which he purchased of Charles Stanhope, of Elvaston, esquire, into whose family it came by a marriage with the heiress of Agard; I say, having seen this conveyance (for the horn is properly a conveyance of the offices), I shall make a few cursory remarks on the foregoing account given of it by Mr. Kniveton, and his translator Mr. Blount.

THE posts or offices conveyed by the Horn were those of Feodary, or Bailiff in Fee [m], Escheator, Coroner, and Clerk of the Market, of the Honour of Tutbury; but the second of these is now in a manner obsolete.

MR. Kniveton calls it a *white hunting Horn*, which in my opinion is not so proper, since, considering the nature of the owner's or bearer's offices, of which it certainly was intended to be an emblem, it is rather an instrument of summons. The Horn is white, with a black tip, and on occasion was intended to be worn, as will hereafter appear.

THE translator says, it is 'garnished with silver, inlaid with gold 'in the middle, and at both ends;' but this is not Mr. Kniveton's sense, who only says, *with silver gilt with gold*, as the fact is. To the silver plate in the middle is fixed an iron ring, by which the

[m] Hereditary Steward, that is, of two Royal Manors, those of East and West Leake, in Nottinghamshire. See Thorton, p. 26.

ribbon at one of its ends is fastened; as at the other end, by a like ring, it is fastened to the ferule that goes round the broad end of the Horn. This, and what next follows, will be best understood by the figure of it in plate I.

THESE buckles they mention being meerly ornamental, all, except one (which is a real buckle, through which the black silk girdle passes, the tongue of the buckle going through three or four small perforated plates sewed in the girdle at due distances, to be used according to the bulk and size of the wearer), are rather lockets than buckles, as appears in the draught. These lockets or ornaments are gilt, as all the other silver is; and the girdle being made to buckle as the bulk of the wearer's body might require, is a plain proof the Horn was intended to be worn.

As to the arms affixed in the middle locket, Mr. Kniveton calls them the arms of Edmund Crouchback, second son of King Henry III. But this cannot be admitted; for the first coat is quarterly France and England, with a label of three points charged with fleurs de lis. Now Edmund Crouchback had nothing to do with the arms of France, neither is there any instance of his bearing them at any time. Besides, in the French quarter the fleurs de lis are stunted to three, which the present Mr. Garter observes was not done in England till the reign of Henry IV, or about that time [a]. This coat therefore is no older than that age, and consequently must be the bearing either of John of Gaunt, at the latter end of his time, or of his son Henry, afterwards King Henry IV; but I rather think of the former, and perhaps may be the sole instance now extant of his bearing the fleurs de lis so stunted. But here I would observe, that the workmanship of the coat of arms and the other ornaments is so elegant, that one has reason to think they have

[a] Stephen Martin-Leake, Esq; Hist. Acc. of Engl. money, p. 137. seq.
since

since been renewed; though, supposing this, one may imagine the artist would adhere to the patterns before used, especially in respect of the arms. But, what is worst, Mr. Kniveton takes no notice of the coat of Ferrers impaled with this of Lancaster; and yet this is highly material, because it signifies and expresses to us the title by which the houses of Lancaster, proprietors of the Honour of Tutbury, came by that Honour, namely by the forfeiture of Robert Ferrers, earl of Derby, temp. Henry III, on which occasion the king gave the earl's estate to his second son Edmund. Blanch, coheir of the grandson of this Edmund, married John of Gaunt, and brought the Honour of Tutbury to him; and his son Henry becoming afterwards king of England by the name of Henry IV, the earldom of Derby by that means, as well as the duchy of Lancaster, was absorbed in the crown.

As to the offices in question, Ferrers of Tamworth, I imagine, held them before Agard; for Nic. Agard of Tutbury, who was living A. D. 1569, married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Roger Ferrers, the eleventh son of Sir Thomas Ferrers, of Tamworth [a]. From Agard the Horn descended, as abovementioned, to Stanhope of Elvaston. This is the best account I can give, and all perhaps that can be expected; for, as there are no charters in the case to be consulted or referred to, these offices not passing by charter, or letters patent, but by the possession of the Horn, no evidence of that sort can be produced.

I PROCEED then, lastly, to say something of the nature or kinds of Horns employed in these grants. They seem to have been of four sorts; Drinking Horns, Hunting Horns, Horns for summoning the people, or of a mixed kind.

THE Horn of Ulphus was of ivory [p], as was observed above: but there is no impropriety in calling it a *horn* nevertheless, by

[a] MS. Visitation of Derbyshire, fol. 6. b.

[p] So was the Lituus of king Edgar above described.

reason of its figure, and that it served to the same purpose as Horns were wont to do [g], of which drinking vessels were anciently made [r], and even of the rhinoceros horn [s]; and Job Ludolphus and Pliny, I remember, call *ivory* not the *teeth* of the elephant, but his *horns* [t], because, as the former says, they grow not out of the jaw, but from the head or skull. *Korn* in the British is a horn, but in the Irish it means a drinking cup [u]. These drinking horns were usually embellished or garnished with silver, and that from the most ancient times; for thus Cæsar, speaking of the horns of the *Urus* used by the old Germans, 'haec studiose conquisita ab labris argento circumcludunt, atque in amplissimis epulis pro poculis utuntur [x].' Pliny confirms what Cæsar has delivered of the horns of this animal, 'Urorum cornibus bari septentrionales potant, urnisque bina capitis unius cornua implent [y].' That Ulphus's horn was properly a drinking horn appears from the account given us of the transaction that passed when he conferred his estate on the church of York; for when he gave the horn which was to convey it, he filled it with wine, and on his knees before the altar 'Deo et S. Petro omnes terras et redditus propinavit.' So that he drank it off, in testimony that thereby he

[g] Vide omnino Voss, de Idol. I. p. 553, col. 1, and 2; where martial instruments and drinking vessels are called *borns*, though made of other materials, because they had been formerly made of them. Instances of Horns used as drinking cups, both of their original materials, and of different and richer substances, frequently occur in the Greek and Roman writers. See Wormius's citations from Pindar, Aeschylus, and Sophocles, Mon. Dan. 395, 396; and from Roman Monuments, and St. Ambrose, ib. p. 387. The ancient Thracians, Paphlagonians, and other nations, had the same custom. Wormius, ib.

[r] Hildebrand, Antiq. Roman, p. 5. Potter's Antiq. II. p. 391. Montf. III. p. 95. Athenæus xi. c. 7. Voss. I. p. 553, &c.

[s] Martial. xiv. 52, 53.

[t] Ludolph. i. c. 10. Pliny, xviii. c. 1.

[u] Lhuys, Arch. Brit. p. 3. See him also p. 5. v. *Buval*; and p. 53. Also Junius's Gloss. v. *Horn* and *Boule*.

[x] Cæsar, de B. G. vi. § 26.

[y] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xi. c. 37.

gave them his lands, even to the disherison of his sons; and the members of the church of York (to speak in the language of the present times) were, to pledge him.

WE know not of what nature the Pusey horn was; but horns were much in vogue amongst our Saxon ancestors, as drinking vessels. We, as their descendants, still use vessels of the same materials, and call them horns; but they, it seems, were more accurate in their description, styling them *þrenc-horn*, *cornu potatorium*, distinguishing them from those that might be applied to other uses. Witlaf, king of Mercia, gave to the abbey of Croyland ‘*Cor-
nu mensae suae, ut senes monasterii bibant inde festis sanctorum, et in
suis benedictionibus meminerint aliquando animae donatoris Wit-
lasi*’; the horn used at his own table, for the elder monks of the house to drink out of it on festivals and saint days, and that when they gave thanks, they might remember the soul of Witlaf the donor [z]. This charter of Witlaf is certainly spurious, but they had such a horn at Croyland notwithstanding (and doubtless a very rich and fine one): for it is mentioned elsewhere in Ingulphus, particularly p. 90. where speaking of the ravages committed by the fire that happened in his time, when the monastery was almost all burnt down, he tells us, that this horn was saved; which shews that he had seen it, and was well acquainted with it. And undoubtedly whoever composed that spurious charter, either before, or during Ingulphus’s incumbency, would take care to adapt things to the customs of the times to which the charter was to be supposed to relate [a]. But see the

[z] Ingulphus, p. 9.

[a] Witlaf lived in Egbert’s reign, and Ulphus is thought to have made his donation in the eleventh century. See the Print of Ulphus’s horn before referred to. Of the same kind was the great Horn finely ornamented with silver gilt, given to the Guild of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by John Goldcorn, when alderman, about the middle of the fourteenth century; of which hereafter. Similar to this was probably the smaller drinking horn in Wormius’s Museum, of which see his Mon. Danica, p. 394. R. G.

author again, p. 6. The Danes used the horn as well as the Saxons [b]; and after them the English, as appears from Johannes Salisberienfis. Thus Chaucer,

Janus sit by the fire with double berde,
And drinketh of his bugle horn the wine.

Frankl. Tale, ver. 2809.

And from hence, as was said, the horn, though in a different shape, has continued in use to this day. Nay, even the farrier gives his drinks to beasts by means of this utensil, a custom which it seems has come down to him from the antients [c]. Horns for blowing were used for collecting cattle, and carrying them out to pasture in the morning, and bringing them home again in the evening. I suspect the horn of St. Patrick, mentioned by Giraldus Cambr. p. 747, was applied to this design. They were used also for the purpose of summoning the people together on various occasions [d], as likewise for instruments of war [e]. They were sometimes made of very rich materials [f] (but still, after what has been said, one may be allowed to call them *borns*), and were most elegantly adorned. Of this sort is evidently that Danish horn, so largely commented on and engraved by Wormius [g]; which of late has been converted into a drinking cup, though that was not the original intention of it [h]. By these sounding horns, when they were known to belong to the donor, lands might be granted, no doubt, as well as by drinking horns. I have conjectured above, that Sir

[b] Dr. Plott's Nat. Hist. of Staffordshire, p. 430.

[c] Geopon. L. xvi. c. 14, 19. xvii. c. 17. Plin. N. H. xxxvi. c. 5.

[d] Voss. de Orig. et Progr. Idololatr. I. p. 353.

[e] Ibid.

[f] Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, who died 1381, in the fifth of R. II. bequeaths by will his great Horn of gold; also his lesser Horn of gold, with the strings. Dugd. Bar. I. 149.

[g] Mon. Danica, p. 344, 488, copied in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1752, p. 25.

[h] Wormius, ib. p. 396, et seq.

Robert

Robert Plumpton, who held a bovaté of land by the service of winding a horn, and driving and frightening the wolves in the forest of Shirewood, had probably a horn for his charter; and the *Litus* of King Edgar, in the affair of Glastonbury abovementioned, was in all likelihood of the same nature. The horn of Nigel (who was made ranger of Bernwode forest by Edward the Confessor, and, as before related, by the gift of an horn) was, no doubt, of the hunting sort [1]. Mr. Foxlowe's horn was evidently of the summoning kind, as appears from the nature of his offices; and the horn is at this day used for the purpose of summoning the people; in some places, as at Canterbury, for assembling the Burghmote Court [2]. Certainly, any office or post, especially such as might require a horn for the purpose of convening the people, whose business it was to attend the officer in the discharge of his function, might be as properly conveyed by a horn as any other instrument. Mr. Foxlowe's horn was intended as a badge of office; and no doubt it was so formerly, as is apparent from the draught, which I think shews plainly the design of it. I suppose it may be properly what we call a bugle horn [3].

THE Danish horn before-mentioned was originally a blowing horn, but has been turned of late to a drinking one; and it is no unusual thing, at present, for the hunters to make use of the *field-horn* for the purpose of drinking. However, Dr. Hickes observes, in regard to the Pusey horn, that it served both the pur-

[1] Dr. Hickes (loc. cit.) calls it *cornu venatorium*; though the grant, in Kennet, Par. Antiq. p. 52, calls it simply *cornu*.

[2] At the Temple, to this day, the sound of the Horn is the summons for the hall. "As for that officer, called Cornicularius, or the Serjeant of the Horn, he it understood as an ancient note of the Port's tenure by cornage from king Canutus's time, by which, as the best customs of the Cinque Ports inform me, their moats and public assemblies are summoned *sonitu cornu*." Philipps's Kent, p. 10. Douglas (being in Rome) in 1450, was accused, and put to the Horn.

[3] This word is at least as ancient as Chaucer; perhaps it may be borrowed from *buculo*, id est, *buculus*. Dr. Littleton, v. *Bifon*, calls that beast a Bugle. See him also v. *Bubulus*. Other etymons are given by Junius in voce, and by Mr. Lye.

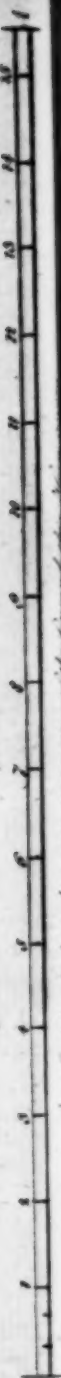
pose of hunting and drinking ; for the dog's head at the orifice or *embouchure* turned upon a joint, by which means the horn could either be opened for blowing, or shut in that part for the holding of liquor [m]. This I have called the mixed kind of horns ; but whether this double use was primarily intended may be justly perhaps made a question, the secondary use for drinking being probably engrafted on the other. But of this let the learned judge as they please.

I SHALL only add one word more ; to wit, that as we cannot suppose a charter of this kind to commence so late as the age of John of Gaunt, it will follow from thence, that the offices thereby conveyed were usually, in the times foregoing, conveyed in the same manner ; and that in all probability they passed by the delivery of a horn from the very first erection of this Honour of Tutbury.

[m] Hickey, *Thef. Praef.* p. xxv.—The Horn described by Wormius has in the small end a modern stopper, made after the horn was found, and no traces of an older one. This Horn is exactly the length of Ulfus's, viz. two feet five inches on the convex side ; but four inches shorter than it in the concave, i. e. twenty-five inches. The circumference at the great end is twelve inches ; that of Ulfus's fifteen inches. Wormius imagines this horn to have preceded Christianity in Denmark, which makes it two centuries older than Ulfus's ; if it be not as old as Frotho the Great, who reigned about the beginning of the first century. R. G.

W. M. P. H. P. 10.

The Pucey Horn.



II. *Of the Pusey Horn.*

THE Society having been indulged with a drawing of the Pusey Horn, now in the possession of Mrs. Jane Allen, of Pusey, Berks, sister of the late Allen Pusey, Esquire, and representative of the family, have caused it to be engraved in Plate II. The first of our writers who mentions this horn, and the grant made by it, is Mr. Camden [a], who, speaking of the manor of Pusey, says, "the family of Pusey still hold it by a horn, anciently given to their ancestors by Canute, the Danish king." Dr. Hickee [b] informs us, that both the horn and manor were in his time possessed by Charles Pusey, who had recovered it in chancery before Lord Chancellor Jefferies; the horn itself being produced in Court, and with universal admiration received, admitted, and proved to be the identical horn, by which, as by a charter, Canute had conveyed the manor of Pusey 700 years before. The Doctor describes the horn as being that of an ox, of a middling size, having in the middle a ring of silver gilt, and neatly mounted on two hounds feet, which support the whole. On the inside was the following inscription;

*A Kyng Knotted geve Wylliam Pecote
Thys bozne to hold by the lond.*

[a] Brit. Berks, p. 203. vol. 1607.

[b] Thef. Praef. p. xxv. Cornu bovinum est, mediocris magnitudinis, quod in medio habet cingulum argenteum, auro oblitum, duobus pedibus canis venatici, quibus suppositum sustentatur, affabre commissum, &c.

At the small end is a hound's head of silver gilt, made to screw in as a stopper. Hence the Doctor concludes that the horn was intended for two uses. Without the stopper it served as a hunting horn; with the stopper as a drinking horn. But that its primary destination was for the purposes of hunting, he concludes, not only from the dog's head and feet, but from the two rings, through which was passed a strap to sling it over the huntsman's shoulder.

THE colour of this horn is a dark brown; which, together with its composition, prove it, as well as that of Borsfall, to have been a real ox horn, and not, like Ulfus's and some others, the tooth of an elephant. The horn is two feet one half inch long; nine inches and a half high, from the feet to the outer edge or rim of the tube, which is of silver; the circumference in the largest part one foot, in the middle nine inches one fourth; at the small end two inches one fourth. It has a rim of silver-gilt round the broad end, and another round the narrow end.

BUT the inscription, as given by Dr. Hickes, differs materially from the real one, which runs thus;

Kyng Knowde geve Wylliam Pewse

This hoyme to holde by thy lond.

and confirms Mr. Camden's assertion, that the lords of the manor had the same name with the manor. It is therefore the more extraordinary, that Dr. Hickes, who mentions the manor and the lord as bearing the same name of *Pusey*, should cite the inscription as exhibiting *Pecote*, instead of *Pewse*. This probably misled Mr. Pegge, in the preceding paper, p. 3, to quote *Camden* as calling it *Pecote*.

III. Of the Borstal Horn.

KING EDWARD the Confessor had a royal palace at Brill, or Brehul, in Bucks, to which he often retired, for the pleasure of hunting in his forest of Bernwood. This forest, it is said, was much infested by a wild boar, which was at last slain by one Nigel, a huntsman, who presented the boar's head to the king: and for the reward the king gave to him one hyde of arable land, called *Derehyde*, and a wood called *Hulewode*, with the custody of the forest of Bernwood, to hold to him and his heirs *per unum cornu, quod est charta praedictae forestae*. Upon this ground Nigel built a lodge or mansion house, called Borestall, in memory of the slain boar. For proof of this, in a large folio velum book, containing transcripts of charters and evidences relating to this estate (supposed to have been written in or before the reign of Henry the Sixth), is a rude delineation of the site of Borstal house and manor, and under it the figure of a man presenting on his knees to the king the head of a boar on the point of a sword, and the king returning to him a coat of arms, Arg. a fess G. between two crescents, and a horn Vert [a], as represented in Plate I. N^o 2.

THE same figure of a boar's head was carved on the head of an old bedstead, now remaining in the tower or lodge of that antient

[a] Bishop Kennet says, "though this distinction of arms did not agree with the time of Nigel, yet it is most likely he did receive from the king a horn, as a token and charter of his office of Forester; and his successors, by the name of Fitz Nigel, did bear those arms." *Par. Antiq.* p. 52.

house

house or castle, and the arms are now to be seen in the windows, and in other parts. And, what is of greatest authority, the original horn, tipped at each end with silver gilt, fitted with wreaths of leather to hang about the neck, with an old brass seal ring [b], a plate of brass with the sculpture of an horn, and several lesser plates of silver gilt with fleurs de lis (supposed to be the arms of Lifures, who intruded into this estate and office at or soon after the Conquest [c]), has been all along preserved by the lords of Borstal, under the name of Nigel's horn, and is now (1773) in the possession of John Aubrey, esquire, (son and heir of Sir Thomas Aubrey, baronet) to whom this estate has descended without alienation or forfeiture, from before the Conquest to the present time, by several heirs female from the family of Nigel to that of Aubrey.

THE Borstal Horn and Chartulary were, by the permission of Mr. Aubrey, exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Southouse, a member of the said Society, who have caused to be engraved this very interesting memorial and instrument of ancient conveyance, and the curious plan of the manor taken at the time of compiling the chartulary, as described by bishop Kennet. See Pl. III.

An inquisition was taken in the reign of king Henry III. (A. D. 1266) in which are the following words; *praedictus Willielmus filius Nigelli et antecessores sui tenuerunt dictas terras et balliviam de domino rege ante tempus conquestus Angliae per unum coron, quod est charta praedictae forestae* [d].

THIS horn (see plate I. N^o 2.) is supposed to have belonged to the bison or buffalo, and is of a dark brown colour, variegated and

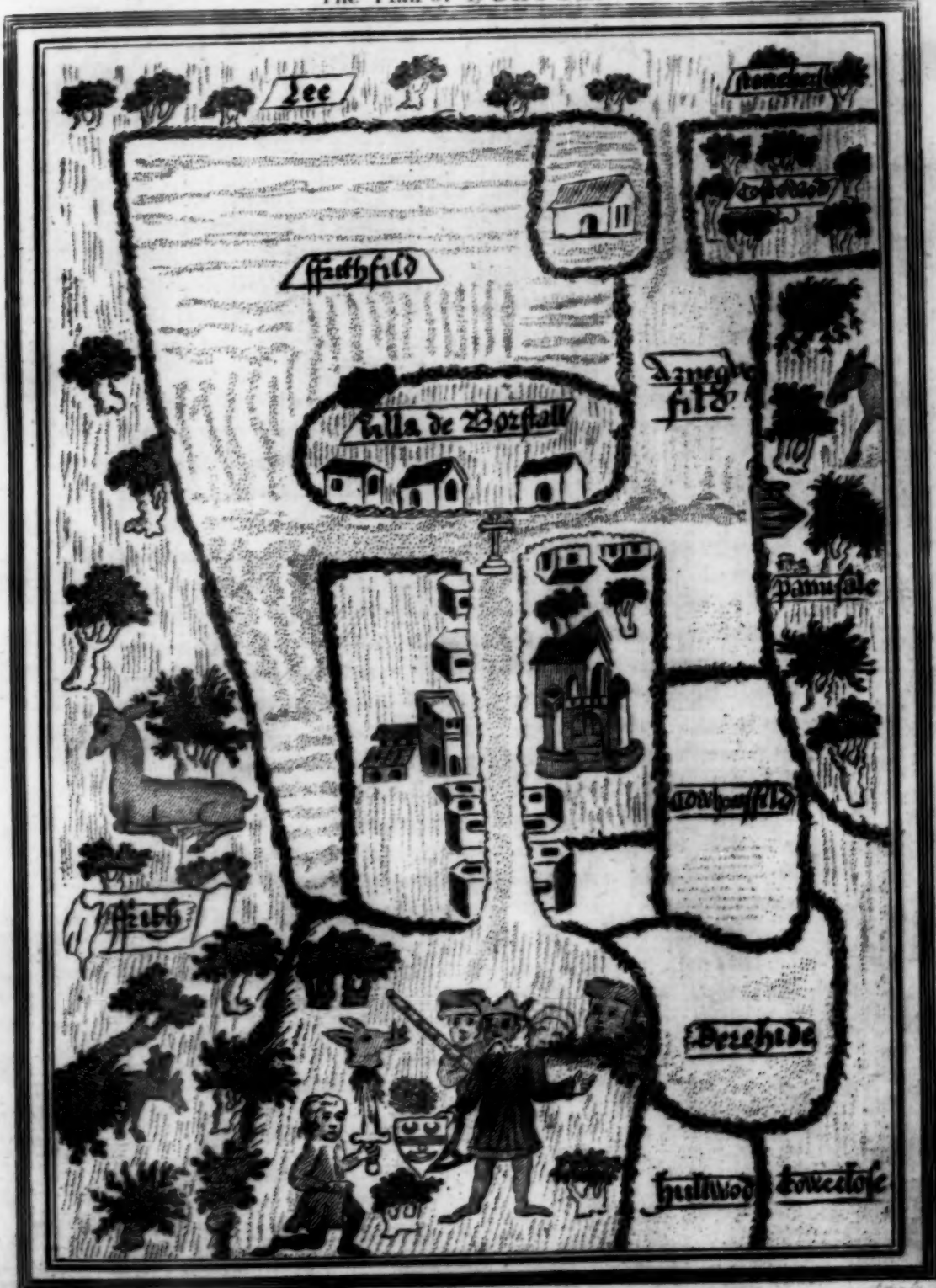
[b] Bishop Kennet says, this ring bears the rude impression of a horn; but the bare inspection of the plate is sufficient to shew that it bears the two initials of John Dynham, lord of this manor in the beginning of the last century. See Kennet, ib. p. 678.

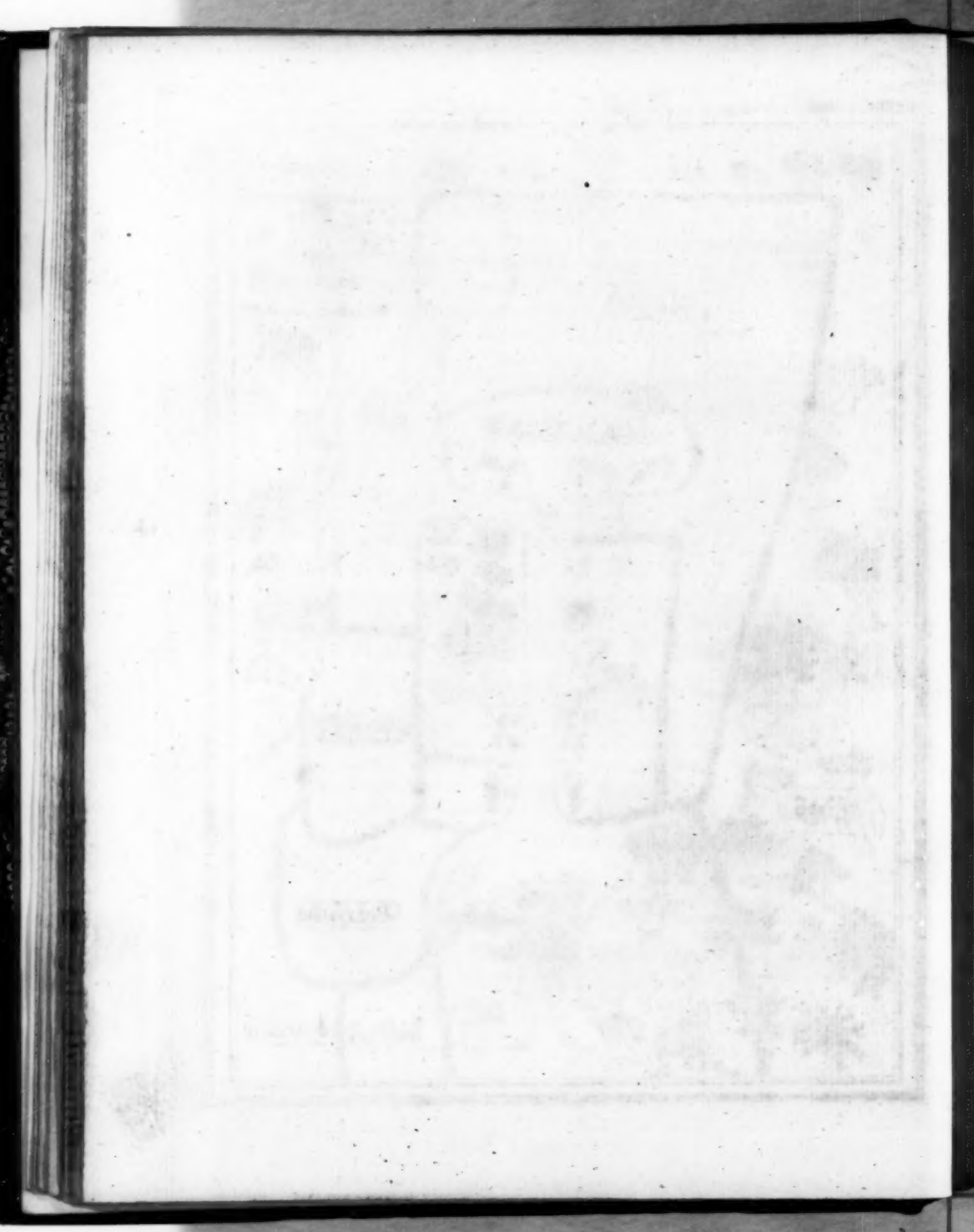
[c] Kennet, p. 147, 148. ex Reg. de Borstal, f. 1. Dugd. Bar. I. 597.

[d] Kennet, p. 265. ex Chari. de Borstal, f. 11.

John Dynham

veined





veined like tortoise-shell. It is two feet four inches long on the convex bend, and twenty-three inches on the concave. The inside at the large end is three inches diameter, being perforated there so as to leave the thickness only of half an inch for about three inches deep; but farther in it is thicker, being not so much or so neatly perforated.

WILLIAM DE LISURES intruded as lord of the fee of Borstal temp. W. Conq. Fulk de Lisures succeeded him temp. H. I, and he was succeeded by his son William, who died 2 R. I, 1190, having granted his fee of Borstal and the office of forester of Bernwood to William Fitz Nigel [e]. From this pretended title to Borstal, and the custody of Bernwood, it seems that one of the family of Lisures had it certified, that, being forester of fee to the king, he was by his office obliged to attend him in his army well fitted with horse and arms, *his horn hanging about his neck* [f].

BORSTAL being thus restored to its original lords the Nigels, William Fitz Nigel died 1204, 3 John, leaving by Mabil his wife John his son and heir, who paid the king ten marks for his father's office, and licence to marry [g]. He died 1234, 18th H. III, leaving, by his wife Ifolda, John his son and heir, who died 1300, 29th E. I. leaving issue an only daughter Joan, married to John de Handlo, to whom he conveyed this estate [h]. Her mother Isabel released to her and her husband all her right of dower in this and other manors, 1305 [i]. In 1311, 5 E. II, the king granted licence to Sir John Handlo to fortify his house at Borstal with a

[e] Kennet, p. 148. Dugd. ubi sup.

[f] Kennet, p. 148.

[g] Id. p. 166.

[h] Id. p. 337. She seems to have died before 1315, when Sir John de Handlo married Maud, daughter of Sir Philip Burnel, and widow of John lord Lovel. Kennet, p. 371.

[i] Kennet, p. 349, ex Chart. de Borstal.

wall of lime and stone [t]. He died 1346, 20 Edward III. leaving for his heir Richard his grandson, seven years old [l]. Upon his death 1355, 29 Ed. III. this manor came in purparty to his elder sister Margaret, who took to her second husband John de Apulby. Her sister Elizabeth married Sir Edmund de la Pole [m], who in her right succeeded to this manor, on the death of Margaret and her husband without issue [n]. Catharine de la Pole, second daughter of Elizabeth and Sir Edmund, married Robert James, esquire, who, in her right, on the death of her elder sister, had this manor, and died 1432, 10 Henry VI. leaving issue Christina, wife of Edmund Rede, esquire, who died 1430 [o], 9 Henry VI. In his descendants it continued for three generations, till by marriage of Catharine, his great grand-daughter, with Thomas Dynham, esquire [p], it was held by that family for near seventy years; and passed thence by marriage to Laurence Banistre, esquire. His daughter Margaret gave it to William Lewis, esquire, 1648, as did their elder daughter Mary to her second husband Sir John Aubrey, baronet, ancestor to the present possessor.

A VIEW of the ancient manor house with its magnificent gateway is engraved in Kennet's *Parochial Antiquities*, p. 679.

[t] Kennet, p. 363, ex Dugd. MSS.

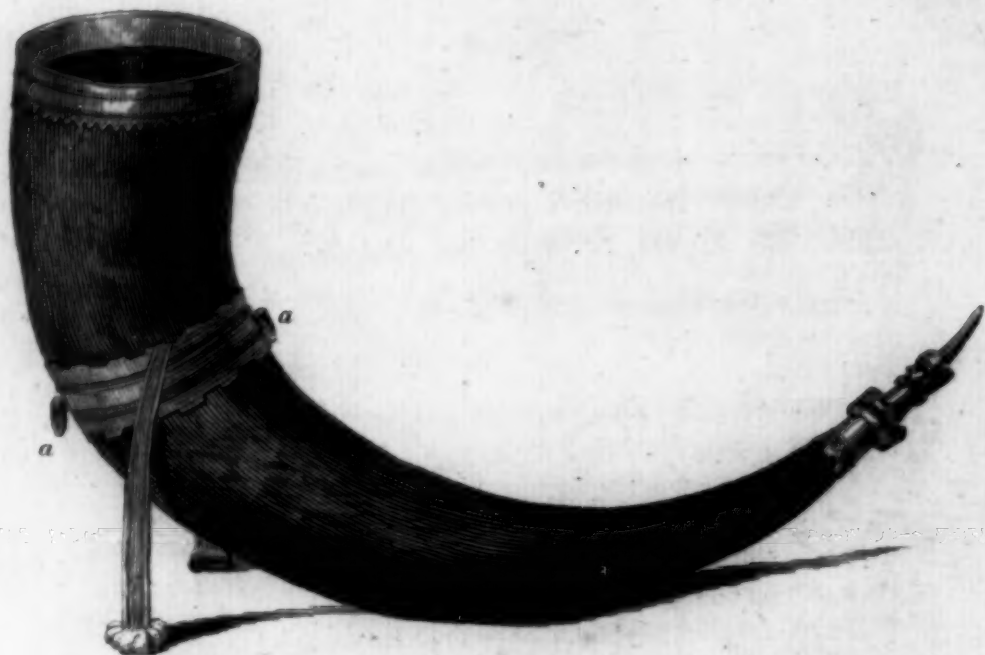
[l] Kennet, p. 460. Dugd. Bar. II. 61.

[m] Kennet, p. 479. Dugd. ubi sup.

[n] Kennet, p. 523.

[o] Id. p. 617.

[p] Id. p. 678. The initials of the name of his son or grandson John are on the seal ring before mentioned.



The Horn at Corpus Christi College Cambridge.



IV. *Account of the Horn belonging to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in a Letter to Mr. Gough, from the Rev. Mr. Tyson, Fellow of the said College.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Jan. 14, 1773.

Benet College, Jan. 10, 1773

DEAR SIR,

AT your request, I send you a drawing of a horn, which formerly belonged to the gild of Corpus Christi, the original founders of our college. It appears from the manuscript *Historiola* of the College (probably written by Jocelyn, secretary to archbishop Parker) that this horn was presented to the gild by their alderman, John Goldcorne, about the year 1347. "Johannes de Goldcorne, quum suo tempore erat aldermannus gildae, dedit magnum cornu potatorium ornatum operculo eum suis appendicibus ex argento, deaurato, quo usi sunt ejusdem gildae fratres in festo praecipue Corporis Christi sane liberaliter." See Fuller's *History of the University of Cambridge*, page 45; and Masters's *History of Corpus Christi College*, page 3. The operculum, or cover, mentioned by Jocelyn and Fuller, is since lost, though it was probably fixed by a chain to the two rings marked (a) in the drawing*. The head at the extremity of the horn may probably be intended for the reigning monarch Edward the Third. On the front of the large end are the arms of the College.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful humble Servant,

M. TYSON.

* PL IV.

D 2

V. Ex-

V. *Extract from the Will of Thomas Earl of Ormond, dated July 31, 1515. From the Register called Holder in the Prerogative Office. Communicated by Thomas Astle, Esquire.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Jan. 16, 1772.

I, THOMAS BUTLER *knt. erle of Ormond* [a], do make this my last will and testam't, &c. Item I give and devise to my da' dame Anne St. Leger---to my da' dame Marg't Bolin, late the wife of Sir Wm. Bolin *knt my manor of Newhall in Essex--* Item when my lorde my father, whose soul God assoile, left and delivered unto me a *lytle whyte HORNE of ivory, garnished at both thendes with gold, and corse thereunto of whyte fylke, barred with barres of gold, and a tyret of golde thereupon*, which was myn auncetours at fyrst time they were called to honour [b], and hath sythen contynually remained in the same blode, for wych cause my seid lord and father commanded me upon his blessing, that I shuld doo my devoir to cause it to contynue still in my blode as far

[a] He was the 7th Earl of Ormond, and 3d son of James the 4th Earl. He was attainted by E. IV, but restored by H. VII, sworn of the privy-council, and summoned as a Baron to the English parliament by the title of Thomas Ormond de Rochford. He died 1515, and was buried in the church of St. Thomas D'Acres, now Mercer's Chapel, London. His two daughters married, as above, Sir James St. Leger, ancestor to the family of Eggesfords in Devonshire, and Sir William Bullen, Knight of the Bath, and father of Tho. Viscount Rochford, Queen Anne, and Mary wife of Wm. Carey, ancestor to the Lord Hunsdon.

[b] Q. Whether, on Henry II's appointing Theobald, the first of this family, butler of Ireland, 1177, or on the creation of the first Earl of Ormond, by E. I when the county of Tipperary was made palatine.

further

further as that myght lye in me soo to be doone to the honor of the same blode. Therefore for the accomplishment of my seid father's will, as farr as it is in me to execute the same, I woll that my executors delyver unto Sir Tho. Boleyn knt. son and heir apparent of my said da' Margaret, the said lytle white horn and corse, he to keep the same to the use of thissue male of his body lawfully begotten. And for lack of such issue the said horne to remayne and be delyvered to Sir George Seyntleger knt. son of my said da' Anne, and to the issue male which successively shall come of the body of the said George. And so to contynue in the issue male of the bodies of the same dame Margaret and dame Anne, as long as shall fortune any such issue male of their bodies to be. And alls for default of issue male of the body of any of my said daughters, the said horne to remaine, and to be delivered to the next issue male of my said auncetors, so that it may contynew styl in my blode hereafter as long as it shall please God, lyke as it hath doone hytherto to the honor of the same blode.

* Mr. Vertue shewed the Society, 1733, a very fine ivory horn, curiously carved in figures of hunting, the arms of Spain and Portugal, *Ave Maria—Tante n'ite*, O. P. and the arms of Jerusalem. Its length 2 feet 4 inches, widest circumference near 12 inches. It was in the possession of the Earl of Oxford. (Minutes II. 34).

Mr. Henry Baker shewed the Society, 1752, a horn belonging to the manor of Tutbury, c. Stafford. Sir Henry Agard was, by prescription, seized in fee of the office of feodary, clerk of the market, coroner, and escheator within the honor of Tutbury, to him and his heirs, 4 E. I. disputed and confirmed, 1 C. I. This white hunting horn (his only evidence), had, round the middle, and each end, a silver gilt circle, each near three quarters of an inch broad, a black ribband passed to it by a ring linked to the circles, and to a circular middle piece, making together a cross. Upon this middle piece is rivetted a shield, with per Pale, France and England, with a label of 3 (Edward the Black Prince), 2dly, Vaire. Mr. Astle shewed a drawing of it, 1769.

William Beachamp, of Elmley, t. H III. leaves to his eldest son William, his horns and cup of Sir Hugh. *Cornus et cyphum Saint Hewe.* Dugd. Bar. I. 228.

VI. Account

VI. *Account of certain Charter Horns in the Cathedral of Carlisle.* By Bishop Lyttelton.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQVARIES, Nov. 24, 1768.

THESE Horns, as they are improperly called, being certainly the teeth [a] of some very large sea fish, represented in the annexed plate [b], were given by King Henry I. to the Prior and Convent of Carlisle, when he enfeoffed them with the tythe of all assart lands within the forest of Englewood, to be held *per quoddam cornu edurneum*, as expressed in the following record. In like manner the keepership of Bernwood forest, together with the manor of Borslall, in the county of Buckingham, were granted in fee by King Edward the Confessor; and the manor of Pusey, Berks, by King Canute the Dane, by the delivery of hunting horns, both which are preserved at Pusey and Borslall at this day [c].

PARLIAMENTUM 18 Edw. primi. Radulphus episcopus Karliol petit versus priorem ecclesie Karliol. decimas assartarum placearum terrarum, de novo assartarum, in foresta de Ingelwood, quarum una vocatur Lyntbwait, et alia Kirkethwait, et quae ad ipsum episcopum pertinent, eo quod predictae placeae sunt infra limites parochiae ecclesiae suae de Aspatericho, &c.

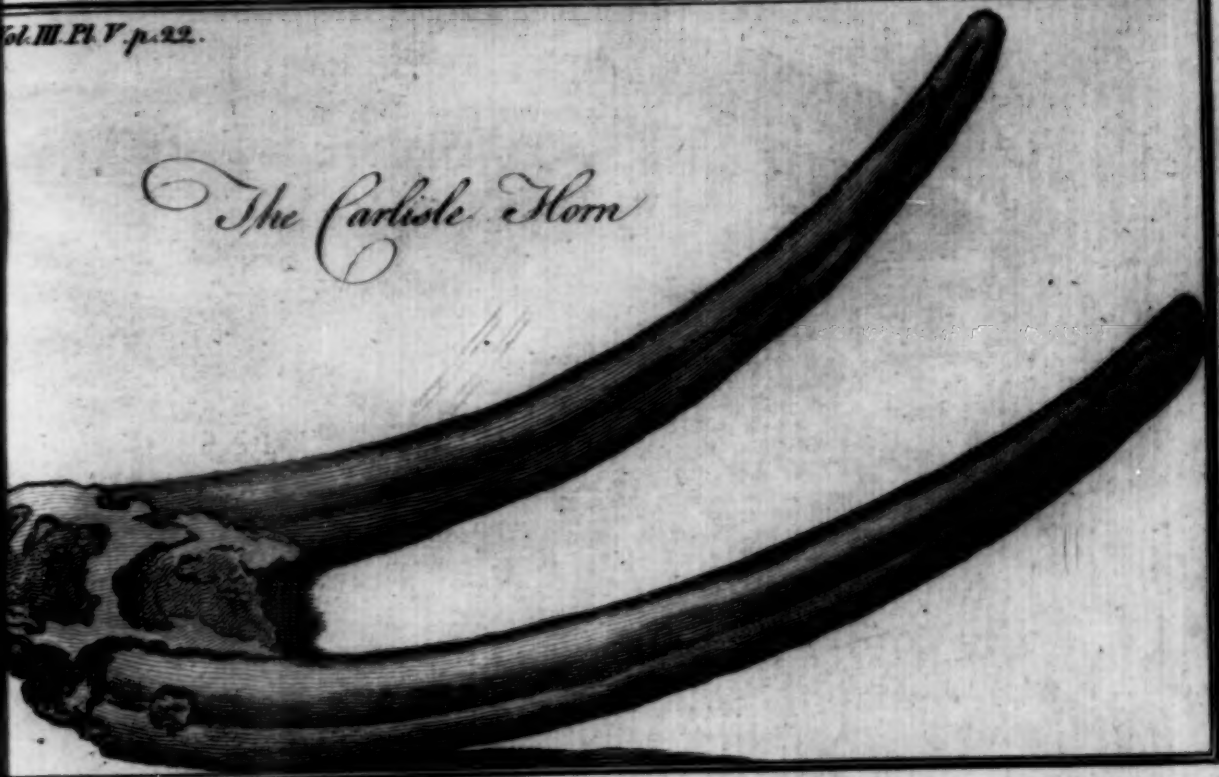
Et Prior venit, et dicit quod decimae praedictae ad ipsum et ecclesiam suam beatae Mariae Karliol pertinent, et non ad praedictum

[a] See vol. XV. of the Minutes of the Society, for April 2, 1778, where it is made clearly appear, that these teeth were not the instrument, by which Henry I. enfeoffed the convent of Carlisle with the tithes of assart lands in Englewood; but that the same was a great Horn venatory, having certain bands of silver and gold, and certain verses graved thereupon.

[b] Pl. V.

[c] See Hickes's Thesaurus, Vol. I. pref. p. xxv. and Kennet's Paroch. Antiq. p. 51, 52. Ryley's Placita Parliamentaria, p. 49.

The Carlisle Horn



episcopum. Dicit enim, quod dominus Henricus rex vetus concessit Deo et ecclesiae suae beatae Mariae Karliol. et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus omnes decimas de omnibus terris, quas idem dominus rex aut heredes sui reges Angliae in foresta praedicta in culturam redigere fecerint; et ecclesiam praedictam inde feoffavit per quoddam cornu eburneum, quod dedit ecclesiae suae praedictae, et quod adhuc habet, et petit iudicium, &c.

"THEY have preserved [at Carlisle] two elephants teeth, fastened in a bone like a scalp, which they call the Horns of the altar [d]."

[d] Ray's Itiner. p. 211.

[24]

VII. *On Lord BRUCE's Horn.* By the Reverend
Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, and President of the
Society of Antiquaries.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 25, 1773.

THIS curious horn, or rather elephant's tusk converted to the use of a horn, is the property of the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Bruce, who, with equal politeness and generosity, has favoured the Society with a sight of the original, and the public with a representation of it in the annexed copper plate [a].

This ornamental piece of antiquity is supposed to have descended to the present noble possessor through the Seymours, by an alliance of this latter family with that of the Esturmys: Roger, the son of William Seymour, who accompanied the Black Prince into Gascony, having, in the reign of Henry IV. married Mand, one of the coheiresses of William Esturmy, of Chadham, Lord of Wolfhall, in the county of Wilts, knight; which family, Mr. Camden observes, "had been ever since the reign of Henry the Second hereditary bailiffs and keepers of the neighbouring forest of Savernake; in memory whereof their great hunting horn, tipped with silver, is still preserved by the Seymours [b]."

It does not appear what authority our great English Antiquary had for this supposition, as the noble possessor of the horn cannot discover by any evidence or records of the family, nor from those which more particularly relate to the forest of Savernake, how or from whom this horn descended to them. A magnificent pedigree of the Seymour family, drawn up in the year

[a] Pl. VI.

[b] Brit. p. 226. ed. 1722.

An antient

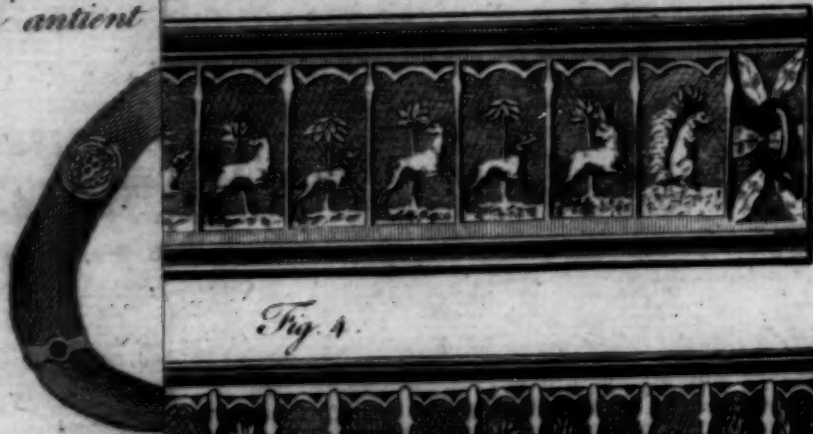


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 1.

An' antient Horn in the Possession of Lord Bruce.

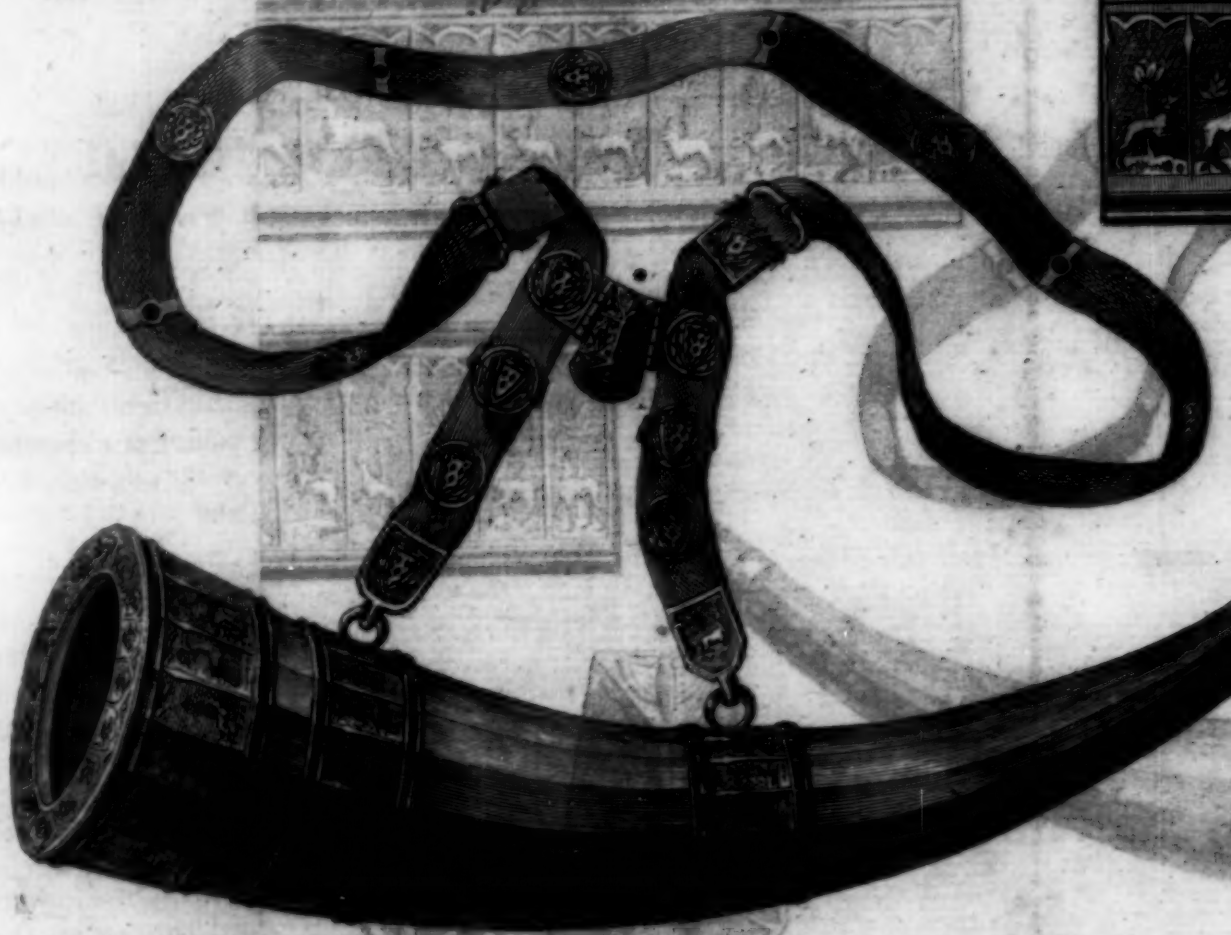


Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

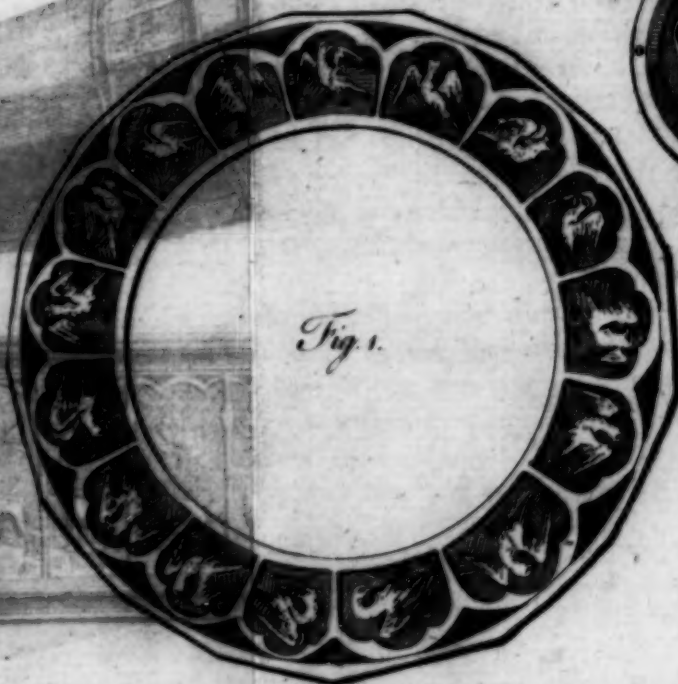


Fig. 1.



Fig. 5.



1604, and continued almost to the end of that century, wherein the effigies of their principal ancestors are beautifully depicted, represents this horn, together with the ornamented belt to which it hung, but without deriving it from the Esturmys or any other ancestor of the Seymour family.

UNDER this uncertainty it may not be improper to attempt a discovery of its original owner, from a description of the horn, and from the coat armorial embossed on the belt.

THE horn is about 2 feet long, and 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter at the widest end, surrounded with 3 borders, and a mouth-piece of silver gilt, embellished with figures in enamel. The border at the extremity of the horn is 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide; and on the breadth of the outer verge, which is an inch in diameter, are represented in 16 compartments as many hawks in different attitudes. In the correspondent compartments on the face of the border are 16 figures in relievo; the first of which represents an aged king with a long beard, and crown upon his head, sitting under a Gothic canopy, having his right hand open and uplifted, and holding a scepter erect in his left. In a compartment on his right hand sits a bishop in his mitre, holding a book to his breast with his right hand, and uplifting his left in the same attitude with the king. In the compartment to the left of the king is a forester or bailiff, with a cap on his head, and a close vest reaching to his knees; a belt is slung over his left shoulder, and to it hangs a horn, which he blows, supporting it with his right hand, and holding a drawn sword erect in his left. The other compartments are filled alternately with a hound, and some kind of game, as a stag, a hind, an unicorn, a fox, a hare; and on the side opposite to the king a lion sitting. The hounds seem to be of two different kinds, some like the large heavy blood-hound, others of a lighter and swifter breed, resembling a grey-hound.

THE second border, to which one end of the belt was suspended by a ring, is two inches broad, and the figures on it represent the same hounds and game, except that a squirrel is inserted among them.

THE third border, to which the other extremity of the belt was fastened, is of the same dimensions, and had the like figures; but, being decayed, was restored by the family in imitation of the original.

THE belt belonging to the horn, and depicted with it in the Seymour pedigree, is of green worsted, with buckles and hinges of silver gilt, embellished with enameled figures and fourteen bosses of the same metal, on which is represented the following coat armour, Arg. within a double tressure *fleur* and *contre fleur* G. three lozenges of the second.

FROM the figures of a lion and stag represented on the belt, which very much resemble the workmanship on the borders of the horn, one may suppose them both of equal antiquity: and the representation and attitude of the three persons before mentioned seem to denote some grant of office and power jointly conferred by the king and bishop on the person at their left hand, who, as forester, blows his horn of office, and, with his uplifted sword, signifies the power he is invested with for the execution of that office. By the age of the king, and stile of the enamel, one may suppose it to represent Henry the Third, or Edward the Third; but it seems almost impossible to guess the name of the bishop concurring in this act, and that of the person on whom this honour is conferred.

IF the belt originally belonged to the owners of the horn, it could not have been the property of the Esturmy family, their paternal coat being, Arg. 3 demi lions G.; whereas the coat
armour

armour on the belt confessedly belongs to a Scottish family the double tressure being an honourable distinction peculiar to the Royal family of that kingdom, and said to have been given by Charlemagne to Achais, king of Scotland, in consequence of a treaty concluded between those two monarchs.

NEsBIT, in his *Scottish Heraldry*, Vol. I. p. 182. observes, "that this distinction was communicated by their kings, first to their children, and afterwards to their eminent subjects; and by their ancient and modern practice, the double tressure is not allowed to be carried by any subject without a special warrant from the sovereign, and that in these two cases; first, to those who were descended of daughters of the Royal family; and, secondly, to those who have merited well of their king and country, as an especial additament of honour."

ACCORDINGLY we may observe, that many noble families of Scotland bear this double tressure; and hence it may be inferred, that the coat armour on the belt must have belonged to some considerable personage, though neither the English nor Scottish books of Heraldry furnish precisely these arms.

LOZENGES and mascles are borne in this form, though not with the same blazon, by several English and Scottish families; such are the families of Greystocke, Freeman, and Ducarel, in England; and those of Weepont, and Pitcairn, in Scotland. But none of these bear the double tressure. The coat armour of the Fitz Duncans, Earls of Murray, approaches nearest to it; for, according to Nesbit, p. 183. "Randolph Fitzduncan, Earl of Murray, as sister's son to Robert the first, carried the double tressure round his paternal figures, which were three cushions Gules on a field Argent." Now these cushions, if represented without their tufts, are not to be distinguished from lozenges or

mafcles [b]; and in that fhape they form precifely the fame coat with that on the boffes of the belt. Thefe arms likewife under the name of Fitz Duncan make a part in the great fhield of the Percy family engraved by Mr. Edmondfon in his new edition of the Baronage: and he affures me, that they are brought into that fhield by alliance with the Seymours; but the cushions are there reprefented with tufts, and the field is Or, which Mr. Edmondfon thinks fhould be Argent, as it is on the belt.

BUT if this belt, or rather the emboffed ornaments of it, are to be given to the Fitz Duncan family, it cannot be lefs ancient than the year 1347, when John, the third Earl of Murray, the laft male heir of this family, was flain at the battle of Durham, fighting for King David, againft Edward the Third, on which the title was affumed by Patrick, Earl of March, who married Agnes, the fiftter of John the laft Earl [c].

I HAVE not been able to difcover any particular office or tenure holden by this family, which might illuftrate the hiftory, or direct to the origin of this horn: but am informed by Mr. Edmondfon, that the arms of Fitz Duncan are introduced into the Seymour pedigree, as he apprehends, by the means of the Trivers or Deffrivers family, to whom Ranulph de Mefchines, lord of Cumberland, gave the lordfhip of Borough on the Sands, to hold by cornage. On the other hand [d], William Fitz Duncan, by marriage became poffeffed of the inheritance of the family of Mefchines. But evidence is ftill wanting to connect thefe facts, fo,

[b] It fhould feem that the cushions and mafcles may be eafily miftaken for each other; for, in a very good MS. book of Heraldry in my poffeffion, I find thefe two coats given to the family of Greyftocke, viz. Arg. 3 mafcles G; and G. 3 cushions Arg.

[c] See Douglas's Scottifh Peerage, p. 499.

[d] See Dugdale's Baron, I. p. 89.

as to trace out with any degree of probability the original possessor of the horn. Cornage, it is well known, was a service by which lands were frequently holden on the borders of England.

THE situation and tenure of that lordship, connected with the coat armour on the belt, may therefore be permitted as a ~~bliss~~ conjecture on so dark a point, until some probable and better authenticated account can be given of it.

*. Mr. Walpole has an ancient ivory drinking horn, with the arms of the earls of Exeter.

Dr. Rawlinson and Mr. Folkes each shewed to the Society, 1738, an ivory horn; the first very long; the other adorned with crocodiles, monkeys, and other animals in relief.

There is indeed a representation of an instrument, which bears an almost exact resemblance to the Welsh Cwrp, amongst the outside ornaments of the abbey of Melrose, in Scotland, which to the best of my recollection, is supposed to have been built about the time of Edward II.

That Welsh instrument seems to have been the origin of the violin, which was not commonly known in England till the reign of Charles I. [a].

[a] Vol. V. p. 132. See also [b] Rawlinson, Hist. of Wales, II. 271. [c] [d] [e] [f] [g] [h] [i] [j] [k] [l] [m] [n] [o] [p] [q] [r] [s] [t] [u] [v] [w] [x] [y] [z]

VIII. Some

VIII. Some Account of two Musical Instruments used in Wales. By the Hon. Daines Barrington.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQVARIES, May 3, 1770.

THE first mention which I have happened to meet with of the old Welsh instrument sent herewith is in Leland's *Collectanea* [a], where, amongst some Latin words for which he gives the Saxon appellations, *Liticen* [b] is rendered *crwth*. This agrees almost in so many letters with the Welsh instrument called a *crwth*, by which name it is still known in some parts of North Wales.

THERE is indeed a representation of an instrument, which bears an almost exact resemblance to the Welsh *Crwth*, amongst the outside ornaments of the abbey of Melrose, in Scotland, which, to the best of my recollection, is supposed to have been built about the time of Edward II.

THIS Welsh instrument seems to have been the origin of the violin, which was not commonly known in England till the reign of Charles I. [c].

[a] Vol. IV. p. 135. See Sir J. Hawkins' *Hist. of Music*, II. 272.

[b] Carpentier (in his lately published *Supplement to Du Cange*) says, that this word is applied to players on the louder wind-instrument. See the article *Litincini*. This however by no means agrees with the *Crwth*, which is stringed.

[c] See the *Life of Anthony Wood*, written by himself, and published by Hearne, in the second volume of *Cuius Vindicat*, p. 502.

Before this time the Crwth was not probably confined to the principality, from the name of Crowdero [d] in Modibras, as also from a fiddler being still called a crowder in some parts of England, though he now plays on a violin instead of a crwth.

By the instrument itself, which I send herewith*, it will appear, however, that there are some very material differences between the two instruments.

And first, they are tuned in a totally different manner; that of the Crwth is here represented; a violin, on the other hand, is tuned by fifths.

The crwth hath six strings, two of which project beyond the finger board, and are touched by the thumb being placed under them; the violin however hath but four.

The bridge of the crwth also is perfectly flat, so that all the strings are necessarily struck at the same time, and afford a perpetual succession of chords.

The bridge of the violin being convex, on the other hand, only one string is touched at a time, unless the player means to strike a chord.

The position of the bridge in the crwth also merits attention, from its great singularity. For all these particularities, see the plate annexed.

I have not sent the bow used in playing upon this instrument: it is rather an awkward one, much resembling that which they sell in the shops for tenor fiddles.

The bows indeed of all this kind of instruments are become considerably longer than they used to be, within these twenty years; an improvement which we owe, amongst many others, to the celebrated *Tartini*.

[d] The Welsh word for the player on this instrument is also *crythor*. See Davies's Dictionary in articulo.

* See Pl. VII.

The chief reason of my having sent this ancient instrument called a *crwth* to the Society for their inspection is, that it is now perhaps on the very point of being entirely lost, as there is but one person in the whole principality who can now play upon it.

His name is John Morgan of Newburgh, in the Island of Anglesey, who is now fifty-nine years of age; so that the instrument will probably die with him in a few years.

Besides that the representation of such ancient instruments puzzles the antiquary when they are entirely lost, I shall take the liberty of mentioning other advantages to the Republic of Letters from not suffering them to go into total oblivion, though they may have given way to instruments of a better construction.

In most editions of Shakspeare the players in Hamlet exhibit a scene thus described in the opening.

"Enter a duke and dutchess with *regal coronets*, &c."

This heraldic absurdity must strike every one; Sir John Hawkins however supposes, that this should be read,

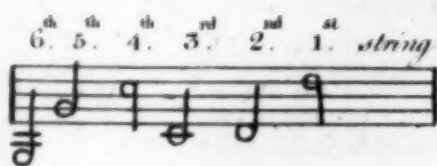
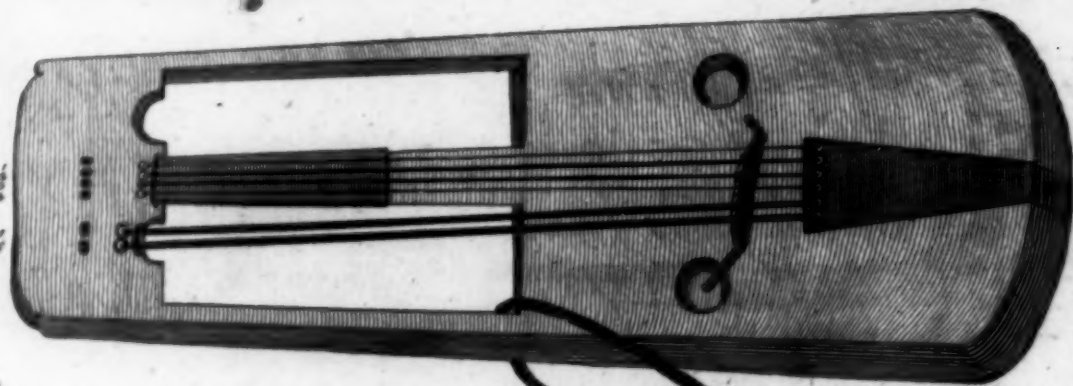
"Enter a duke and dutchess with *Regalls* and *Cornets*;" both of which are ancient musical instruments, though now disused.

As for the *Regal*, or *Regalls*, Snetzler, the famous organ-builder, informs me, that it is not entirely lost in Germany at present, being a small portable organ with keys, and this instrument was much used anciently in England, as our kings had a *regall-maker*, amongst their musical establishment, who had a salary of 16*l.* per annum [1].

[1] See the establishment of the household in the first year of Queen Mary, p. 24. B. in a MS. which I had the honour of presenting to the Society. Lord Bacon also frequently mentions the *regal* in his experiments on sound, as he does the *cornet*, which he represents as an instrument of *flexion*.

Spelman and Ducange, in voce, describe it as used in Italy before organs. See Hawkins' Hist. of Music, II. 448.

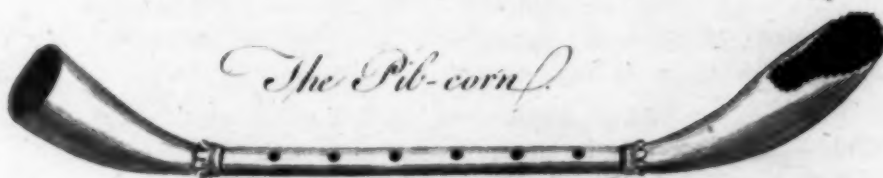
But



Tuning

The Crwth

See p. 33.



The Pib-corn

The middle part



The Reed



The Horns

BUT it is not only from the names of musical instruments which cease now to be in use, that passages may receive illustration, but from obsolete appellations of some of our most common singing-birds.

In the First Part of Shakespeare's *Henry the Fourth*, Act III. Scene 3.

HOTSPUR says to Lady Percy (whose name by the way was not *Catharine*, but *Elizabeth* [f])

Hotspur. Come, sing.

Lady Percy. I will not sing.

Hotspur. 'Tis the next way to turn *tailor*, or be robin-red-breast teacher.

Now a goldfinch still continues to be called a *proud tailor* in some parts of England [g]; which renders this passage intelligible, that otherwise seems to have no meaning whatsoever.

I SEND here with also another very rude musical instrument*, which is scarcely used in any other part of North Wales, except the island of Anglesey, where it is called a *pib-corn*, and where Mr. Wynn of Penhescedd gives an annual prize for the best performer.

I HEARD lately one of the lads (who had obtained this honour) play several tunes upon this instrument.

THE tone, considering the materials of which the *Pib-corn* is composed, is really very tolerable, and resembles an in-

[f] See an order, de arrestando *Elizabetham* Percy, in the 5th year of Henry IV. A. D. 1403. Rymer, Vol. IV. Part I. p. 57. Hague edit.

[g] Particularly Warwickshire, Shakespeare's native country.

* See Pl. VII.

different hautbois: how it is produced will appear by the drawing of the different joints of the instrument. See the plate annexed.

As the name of it signifies the *bornpipe* [b], I have little doubt but that the musical movement, which is thus called to this day, was originally made for dances which were performed to this instrument.

[b] Literally the *Pip: born*.

**IX. On the Antiquity of Horse Shoes. A Letter to the
Rev. Jeremiah Milles, D. D. Dean of Exeter, and
President of the Society of Antiquaries of London.
By Charles Rogers, Esquire.**

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 15, 1770.

S I R,

THE antiquity of shoeing horses having been the subject of a conversation in which I lately partook, it occasioned the following inquiries, the reading of which before your Society, if not esteemed unworthy of it, will greatly oblige,

SIR,

Your most obedient and
very humble Servant,

CHARLES ROGERS.

JOACHIM CAMERARIUS, in his Treatise "De curandis equis," which he published in 1556, boldly asserts, that "the ancients were not accustomed to shoe their horses [a]." And Guido Pancirolus, in his "Nova Reperta," observes, that "some are of this opinion, because such shoes are not seen in their equestrian statues; the reason of which was not known to him [b]."

[a] Prisci soleas ungulis affigere non consuevere.—Apud Thesaur. Graec. Antiq. Vol. XI. p. 822.

[b] Sunt etiam qui velint ne calceatos quidem olim fuisse equos; eo quod in equestribus statuis ferrea ista calceamenta non conspiciuntur; cujus rei causam sane haud scio. Nova Reperta, Tit. 16.

NOTWITHSTANDING these discouragements, we have sufficient proofs of the ancients having shod their horses and mules with iron and other metals.

POLYDORUS VERGIL, *De Rerum Inventoribus*, informs us that "the Thessalians were reported to have been the first who protected their horses' hoofs with shoes of iron [c]."

CATULLUS speaks of their iron shoes in such terms as demonstrate they were at his time in common use. He wishes to throw a heavy townsman of his headlong off a bridge into the river, that he might, if possible, shake off his lethargy, and leave his stupidity in the mud, as a mule leaves her iron shoe in a stiff bog:

"Nunc eum volo de tuo ponte mittere primum,"

"Si pote stolidum repente excitare veterem,"

"Et supinum animum in gravi derelinquere cœno,"

"Ferream ut soleam tenaci in voragine mula."

Carm. xviii.

ISAAC VOSSIUS, in his observations on this passage, says, that this custom was much more ancient, as may be collected from Xenophon, *περὶ ἵππων*, where he directs the hoofs of horses to be protected with iron, *περιχλῶσαι σιδήρῳ*: and that it may be traced as high as Homer, who calls the horses brazen-footed, *χαλκίποδας*, by which word he manifestly denotes their shoes. Vossius further observes, that in an old MS. of the Greek Hippiatrics in his possession, which was illustrated with paintings, the marks and traces of the nails that pierced their hoofs were plainly seen.

SUETONIUS acquaints us, that "Nero was said to have never travelled with fewer than a thousand four-wheeled chariots, the

[c] Hoc quoque (Peletronios, qui Thessaliae populi sunt) primos equorum ungulas munire ferreis soleis cepisse ferunt. *Lib. II. cap. 12.*

"mules.

"mules of which were shod with silver [d]." And the elder Pliny tells us, that "Poppaea, the wife of Nero, caused the shoes of her more delicate beasts to be made even of gold [e]."

THE poetic appellation of *sonipes* given to horses undoubtedly alludes to the sound made by their shoes, and not by their feet alone.

The above quotations remove all doubts of the ancients having shod their horses, but afford us little authority to believe that they fastened them on with nails, as is practised among us; but rather that they plated them round the bottom of their feet, and drew them over their hoofs. Joseph Scaliger, in his note on the abovementioned passage of Catullus, is induced to be of this opinion by the Greek name of horses shoes *τροδύμαλα* [f]; which were perhaps artificially fixed to the hoofs, and the fastenings of them concealed under the hairs of the footlocks. With this conjecture the *induere* of Pliny perfectly well corresponds; and the facility of a shoe's being drawn off by sticking in the mud is much greater in one plated over the hoof, than in one fastened to it by nails; besides, these plated shoes, which covered the entire hoofs, were adapted to make a more glittering appearance than if nailed at the bottom of their feet only; more especially when made of silver, or of gold.

[d] Nunquam carrucis minus mille fecisse iter traditur, soleis mularum argenteis. Nero, cap. 30.

[e] "Nostraque aetate Poppaea conjux Neronis principis delicatioribus jumentis suis soleas ex auro quoque induere." Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. xxxiii. § 49.

[f] So Aristotle says of Camels, that for military expeditions they fastened to their feet shoes made of ropes or hemp *τῖοαεοῦσι καὶ καλάς*. These seem to be the *Sportia calcata* of oxen in Columella de Re Rust. vi. 14. And Galen, de alim. fac. Lib. I. c. 9. says, *σῶπτος ἐξ αὐλῆς καὶ τῖοαεοῦσι ὑποδύματα ὑποζυγίων*. Accordingly Fabretti on Trajan's Pillar, (Col. Traj. p. 224) observes the w. r. horses of the Romans have no shoes, only the beasts of burden. It is probable, *burfi* wore no other shoes; since Xiphiline, speaking of Poppaea's mules, calls their golden shoes *αὐχρῶνα ἐλαψία*. Dio. LXII. p. 714.

We

WE have no evidence for the nailing on their shoes but the old manuscript of Vossius; and, as he has not told us the age of it, his information is of little service.

THE earliest instance which may be depended on that has occurred to me of shoeing horses in the present method, is part of a shoe belonging to the horse which was buried with Childeric I. king of France, who died A. D. 481. Pere Montfaucon, in his *Monarchie Françoise*, has published the entire figure, and an account of it from the *Anastasis Childerici* of Jean Jacques Chifflet 1655.

IT was made of iron, pierced, as supplied in the print, for nine nails, but the piece took in only three holes, and was found at Tournay, May 27, 1653, with many other things; and among these the skull, jaw-bone, and teeth, of an horse, which appears to have been small by that part of its shoe there discovered.

WHAT has been here advanced will, I hope, induce some learned gentlemen of this Society kindly to communicate more satisfactory particulars relating to this subject.

X. On Shoeing of Horses amongst the Ancients.
By the Reverend Mr. Pegge.

Read at the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, Feb. 25, 1773.

ONE of the poetical names for an horse in the classics is *β-
nipes*; a term taken from the clatter or sound of the feet in
running, especially upon hard ground, whence Virgil says,
“ Qaudrupedante putrem [a] sonitu quatit ungula campum.”

AEN. VIII. 596.

and again,——“ folido graviter sonat ungula cornu.”

GEOR. III. 88.

We are not however to suppose that the horses of the ancients
were always shod with iron, or other metal; because they made a
noise with their feet in galloping, as this might be done with
naked and unarmed hoofs; and hoofs will *sound* without their
being shod. The hoofs of some horses are particularly hard [b]
and concave; whence Xenophon, in his book on the subject of
horses, directs, that in chusing unbroken colts, and consequently
such as never had a shoe on, regard ought to be had to the *sound-
ing* of their hoofs, Καὶ τῷ ψόφῳ δὲ φησι Σίμων δόλους εἶναι τὰς ἐν ποταμοῖς
καλῶς λέγων. ὡς περ γὰρ κύμβαλον ψόφει πρὸς τῷ δαπνίδῳ ἢ κοίλῃ ἐπλῆ.
Etiam sonitu recte memorat Simo pedum bonitate prodi, nam ungula
concava solo impaeta velut cymbalum resonat [c]. Hence, as I take

[a] Not moist or soft, but in pulverem facile solubilem. Ruæus ad loc.

[b] Tonti, p. 166. Isaiah v. 28. Thevenot, II. p. 113. Job Ludolphus
in Commentario, p. 146.

[c] Xenophon, περὶ ἵππων, c. 1.

it, Homer has ἐρίγδυποι πόδες ἵππων [d], without any idea of their being shod: And again, ὑψηλές ἵπποι [e], and therefore when Eustathius explains the latter by ὑψηλὸν τὸ χαλκῷ, 'he had respect probably to the custom of his own time.

It must be acknowledged, indeed, that if horses feet were shod with metal, they would of course sound the more; and therefore some have been inclined to interpret χαλκοκρότους ἵππους in Aristophanes [f], of their being *soleis induti aeneis* [g]. The scholiast however, is of a different opinion, explaining χαλκοκρότων by χαλκοπόδων, and interpreting it metaphorically, ταῦτέστι τὰς ἐπὶ τὰς ἰσχυραῖς ἔχοντων, συμβαίνειν γὰρ ἡχεῖν τὴν γῆν καὶ κλυτεῖν ἐπικρουμένῃ τοῖς πόσιν τῶν ἵππων; and the Latin translator understood the rattle to proceed not from the horses feet, but from the metal about their bridles, *et creperi frenum lupi*. This passage of the Greek Comedian does not therefore interfere at all with what we have delivered above on the *sounding of the hoof*; but if you adhere to the sense of the scholiast, rather confirms it.

MONTFAUCON has observed in regard to the hoofs, that Xenophon has taught us a method of hardening them; and thence very justly infers, that shoeing was not then *generally* in use [h]. Xenophon was contemporary with Aristophanes: and therefore his precepts for hardening the hoofs, and his silence at the same time in regard to shoeing, appear to me to be a great confirmation of the scholiast's interpretation of the χαλκοκρότους ἵππους of that author. But it is necessary we should say a word more on this passage of Xenophon. He recommends for the hardening of the hoofs, first, that the stalls should be pitched with stones of the size of the

[d] Homer. Il. Δ 152.

[e] Idem Il. ε. 772. Vide Thesaur. H. Steph. in voce.

[f] Aristophanes, Equit. 549.

[g] H. Steph. Thes. Gr. Tom. IV. col. 578, 379. Ellis, Fortuita Sacr. p. 358.

[h] Montfaucon, Antiq. Tom. IV. p. 51. The passage he refers to is ἐπὶ

hoofs, λίθους ἔχοντα καθορυγμένους πρὸς ἀλλήλους, παραπλησίως ὅπλοις τὸ μέγεθος. Then, that the place where the horse is curried, which he calls ὁ ἔξω σταβλὸς, or the outer stable, may be accommodate to the purpose, and contribute likewise to harden or fortify the feet, (βίαιτις εἰς τὴν πόδας καταρυνύει): he directs, that four or five cartloads of bowlders, as large as can be held in the hand, and of a pound weight each, should be confusedly thrown upon the place and surrounded with an iron curb, to prevent their rolling or slipping away, λίθων στρογγύλων ἀμφιόρων [1]. ὅσον μυριαίων ἀμείζας ταῖσρα εἰς πέντε χεῖρας καταβάλλει περιχελώσας σιδήρῳ, ὥς ἂν μὴ σκεδανύωται. All here seems to be very plain, and to answer very well to the author's intention of invigorating the hoof. If. Vossius [2] however has stepped in, and puzzled the cause a little, by contending that we ought to read περιχελώσας σιδήρῳ, that is, *having shod the horses with iron*; and in the same manner he corrects Julius Pollux, who has cited this passage of Xenophon, and gives περιχελώσας, or περιχελώσας, as in the vulgar edition [3]. But, with submission to this learned man, the context shews that the author, in the words περιχελώσας σιδήρῳ, is speaking of the pavement or bowlders, and not of the horses feet; and therefore that the text, supported moreover by all the MSS. and the authority of Pollux, ought not to be altered.

To declare then my opinion briefly on the subject; the shoeing of horses, I apprehend, was very far from being a *general practice* amongst the ancients; but still there is evidence enough to induce a persuasion, that it was *sometimes* done, especial in

[1] 'Omnino,' ἀμφιόρων lege, ita enim legit Pollux. Hesych. ἀμφιόρων λίθοι μέγεθος ἔχοντες. Vir doctus in marg. edit. Aldin. in Biblioth. Leyd. πρὸς τὸ διχασθαι χειρὶ πρὸς τὸ διχασθαι; Guetius ad Hesych.

[2] If. Voss. ad Catullum, p. 48. et, ut puto, in marg. edit. Aldin. in Biblioth. Leyd. ubi eadem fere legimus.

[3] Jul. Pollux, Lib. I. c. xi. § 200.

latertimes. These two points I propose to establish in the following essay.

THERE were but few horses amongst the Hebrews before Solomon's time, they having no cavalry in their armies [m]. Those they had came from Egypt; thus we read in Deuteronomy, the king 'shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses [n]. This species of cattle abounded very early in Egypt [o], but then in that soft country there was little or no necessity for the horses to be shod. The Canaanites and Syrians also had horses and chariots [p]. These horses came probably from Egypt likewise; but be that as it will, the Hebrews were not permitted to use them when they fell into their hands, but were expressly commanded to lame them [q]. David, indeed, afterwards, reserved some of the horses of this country, but, as he kept them only for state, and not for their use in war, and consequently put no confidence in them, he was not reprimanded for it [r]. The Israelites before him used mules and asses more than horses. Upon the whole, little can be learned from the Scriptures in respect to the point in hand, except, that in appearance the Canaanites did not shoe their horses. 'Then were the horse-hoofs broken by the means of the 'prancing, the prancing of the mighty ones,' Judges v. 21; for had the horses feet been shod either with iron or brass, they could not have been broken by prancing.

[m] Calmet, Dict. v. Horse.

[n] Deut. xvii. 16. See also 1 Kings x. 18. 2 Chron. i. 16, 17. ix. 28.

[o] Deut. ibid. Genesis xivii. 17. Exod. ix. 3. xiv. 9.

[p] Deut. xx. 1. Josh. xi. 6. xvii. 16. 2 Sam. viii. 4.

[q] Josh. ibid. and see Sherlock, Dissert. IV. annexed to his Book on Prophecy.

[r] 2 Sam. viii. 4. 5. See Sherlock, l. c.

In regard to other nations; The Phrygians are said to have been the first that harnessed a pair of horses in a chariot; and Erichonius the first that yoked four [s]; but this, it is thought, respected Greece only [t]; and there is some reason to doubt whether four were ever used at Troy, though it is generally believed three were [u]; however, there were no horses mounted at the siege of Troy on either side [w]. Bellerophon, the unfortunate rider of Pegasus, was, according to some, the first that mounted an horse [x]; others say Neptune [y]; others Minerva [z]; and others the Lapithae of Thessaly [a]; whence arose the fable of the Centaurs and Hippocentaurs, half men and half horses. Polydore Vergil, upon this, goes further, and says, full to the point, that the Thessalians were thought to have invented the horse-shoe, 'Hos quoque Pelethronios Thessaliae primos equorum ungulas munire ferreis soleis coepisse ferunt [b].' He names not his author, but quære whether it may not be collected from the following words of Virgil,

"Frena Pelethronii Lapithae gyroque dedere

"Impositi dorso, atque equitem docuere sub armis

"Insultare solo, et gressus glomerare superbos."

GEOR. III. 115.

where, by *equitem*, Servius, A. Gellius and Philargyrius understood *equum*, as the following words seem necessarily to require,

[s] Polyd. Verg. II. c. 12. Stewech. ad Veget. p. 132.

[t] Polyd. Verg. *ibid.*

[u] Feithii Antiq. Homer. IV. c. 11.

[w] Sir Tho. Browne, Vulg. Err. V. c. 13. Feithius, p. 113.

[x] Polyd. Verg. *ibidem*. Stewech. ad Veget. *ibid.*

[y] Diod. Sic. apud Polydorum.

[z] Polyd. Verg. *ibid.*

[a] Virg. Georg. III. 115. and Servius ad loc. Pliny, N. H. Lib. VII. c. 56. This probably is the truth; the fables about Bellerophon, &c. not being objects of much regard.

[b] Loc. cit.

and as the word is used by Ennius; but what then is meant by *sub armis*? *insident armato*, says Philargyrius; but war horses covered with armour, *cataphracti*, were surely of a later invention [c]; and therefore *arma* seems to signify in this place the metal shoes of horses; and yet our translators do not any of them understand it so [d]. But the author, if he intended to say this, as we think he did, was probably mistaken; for shoeing is a species of improvement, and apparently the effect of time and experience; wherefore one has no reason to suppose it was immediately introduced on the first use of horses in Thessaly. On the contrary, the inference drawn from the silence of Xenophon, and the interpretation put upon the passage of Aristophanes by the scholiast, both mentioned above, seem to imply, that the practice was unknown in Greece many years after; and therefore one cannot but subscribe to the opinion of Isaac Casaubon, that the practice of shoeing was not known *very anciently*, * *Vetustissimos homines hoc ignorasse certum est* [e].

BUT now let us hear Montfaucon; * The use of shoeing horses, he says, is *very ancient*, although there be certain proofs that it was not *general* among the Romans. Fabretti says, that among the great number of horses which occur in ancient monuments, he never saw more than one that was shod, though he made it his business to examine them all, both upon columns and other marbles. As to the mules, both male and female, they are often said by writers to have been shod. There are nevertheless *certain and undoubted proofs*, that the ancients shod their horses; thus

[c] H. Stephens indeed, in *Thef. Gr.* v. *ἵππωνόμος*, represents them as armed at Troy; but see Dr. Clarke, on the other hand, ad II. B. i.

[d] Dr. Martin ad loc.

[e] Isaac Casaub. ad Aristoph. *Equit.* 549.

‘ much Homer and Appian say ; though it does not appear indeed
 ‘ that the custom was general [f].’ In another place, the same
 great man says, ‘ The horses feet (on an Etruscan tomb) have
 ‘ iron shoes, a particular rarely seen on ancient monuments. Fa-
 ‘ bretti says, that of all the horses he saw on monuments he never
 ‘ observed but one with four shoes [g].’ I have adduced Mont-
 faucon’s sentiments in this place, on account of what he has al-
 leged in respect of Homer and Appian, and the practice of the
 Greeks, as these testimonies appear to be against us, and therefore
 ought to be examined. The place of Homer here referred to, I pre-
 sume, is Iliad N. 23. where Neptune yokes his χαλκίποδ’ ἵππων ;
 and it is true, that H. Stephens, in his *Thesaurus*, interprets χαλκί-
 πους, *aereos habens pedes, seu cujus pedes aereis soleis ferrati sunt* ;
 but as these were the horses of a god, it may be justly doubted
 whether one can infer any thing from this passage concerning our
 subject, any more than from the *Cerva aeripes* of Virgil taken by
 Hercules [h], which certainly was not, properly speaking, shod.
 Besides, the scholiast of Aristophanes cited above seems to lead us
 to interpret the word χαλκίπους metaphorically, and in the sense
 only of ισχυρός. Appian, whom we are to be concerned with next,
 says, Mithridates sent part of his horse back to Bithynia, such as
 were useless, feeble for want of forage, & χαλαινίστας ἐξ ὑποβρίσεως [i],
 which the Latin translation renders *claudicantesque solearum inopia*
detritis ungulis ; but this is a mere addition of his, for the
 original says nothing about shoes, only that the horses were
 lame by the attrition of their hoofs, which rather may seem to
 imply that the horses were not shod, than that they were.

[f] Montf. Antiq. IV. p. 50.

[g] Idem, VII. p. 558.

[h] Virgil, Aen. VI. 802.

[i] Appian, de B. Mithrid. p. 371. Ed. Tollii.

As the matter is here stated upon the best evidence I can find, there is no clear, express, or positive proof, that the Greeks shod their horses *very anciently*, or that they did it *customarily* in the later times. I think it not improbable that they might begin to do it occasionally, and in some certain places, a little before the age of Mithridates; a conjecture grounded upon the practice of the Romans, with whom shoeing prevailed so soon after, and into whose usage in this respect we are next to enquire.

PANCIROLUS writes, in conformity with Fabretti as cited by Montfaucon, ‘sunt etiam qui velint, ne calceatos quidem olim fuisse equos: cò quod in equestribus statuis ferrea ista calceamenta non conspiciantur, cujus rei causam sane haud scio [A].’ It appears, however, from the following passage in Catullus [I],

“Et supinum animum in gravi derelinquere cœno;

“Ferream ut soleam tenaci in voragine mula.”

that in his time mules were wont to be shod; and so the emperor Nero had his draught mules guarded with silver [m], as his wife Poppaea had the feet of hers secured with gold [n]. A muleteer also of Vespasian alights, as he pretends, to get his mules shod [o]. Vossius shews from Palladius, l. c. 24. that mules were usually shod with *spartum*, for by *animalia* in that passage mules and asses I presume are intended; and Pancirolus remarks very sensibly in regard to Poppaea, “id illi in mentem haud venisset, opinor, multo vero minus factitatum ab ipsa fuisset, nisi jam tum calceari consuevissent equi;” arguing and in inferring with good propriety from horses to mules, though perhaps the

[A] Pancirolus, Lib. II. tit. 16.

[I] xviii. 25.

[m] Suetonius in Nerone, c. 30.

[n] Plin. N. H. xxxiii. c. 11.

[o] Sueton. in Vespas. c. 23.

former were not so commonly shod as the latter. And indeed it must be confessed that in the third Georgic, if you except the passage above quoted with the interpretation there given it, no notice is taken of shoeing horses, nor again in the *Scriptores de Re Rustica*; and yet I have no doubt but they used it sometimes, and perhaps for their war-horses more especially. Fabretti acknowledges he saw one shod upon a marble; another we find shod upon an Etruscan monument; Panciroli cites Nicetas for an equestrian statue shod with iron; Vossius testifies in a passage to be adduced below, that there are marks of shoeing in the illumination of his MS. of the *Hippiatrica*; and Pliny also informs us, concurring therein with Aristotle, that camels in long journeys were likewise shod [p], just as oxen are here in England when they are intended to travel an hard road.

BUT why, it may be asked, would mules and asses be more commonly shod than horses? I answer, these animals were much used in ancient times, more so than horses, for riding in Judaea [q], and for draught almost every where [r]; besides, they are usually more tractable and patient, asses especially; and shoeing, consequently, was much more easily performed upon them.

THE difference of countries, and even of parts of countries, ought to be considered in respect of shoeing animals. Soft countries do not require the provision of shoes. Some do not shoe now with us, and others only shoe the fore feet. The Persians are very heedless and indifferent about it [s]. The Aethiopians, who seldom ride, absolutely neglect it, "ideo nec ungulas eorum soleis

[p] Pliny, N. H. xi. 45. and see Aristot. H. Anim. II. 1. See Job Ludolphus in Comment. p. 146; and Tavernier, II. p. 39.

[q] Calmet, Dict. art. Horse. Bishop Sherlock, Diff. IV.

[r] Pitisc. ad Suet. Ner. c. 30. Vesp. c. 23. And see below.

[s] Thevenot, II. p. 113.

“ferreis muniunt: si per aspera et salebrosa loca eundum sit, eos ducunt, ipsi mulis insidentes [t].” And even the Tartars, who are so perpetually on horseback, do not do it “tempore vero hyemis, viis ob gelu asperis et duris, corio boum, etiam recenti, si aliud non suppetat, pedes equorum suorum involvunt [u].”

THESE are reasons why the practice might not be universal amongst the ancients, but sometimes might be applied, and sometimes omitted. Many sorts of work, it is certain, can be performed by horses without shoeing, especially in some regions; and in a thousand places abroad, the inhabitants, though they have horses, know nothing of shoeing them, at this day.

To say a word, in this place, of the material wherewith horses were anciently shod: gold and silver has been mentioned as applied by the luxury of great personages; but iron was probably most frequently used, both for horses and mules. Vossius notes from Xiphilinus, that Poppaea's mules were some of them furnished in their feet *σπαθίαις ἐπιχρυσίαις* [w], with shoes made of a tough kind of broom twisted and gilt; and I vehemently suspect, I offer it only though as a conjecture, that the golden shoes of Poppaea's mules recorded above from Pliny, might be only these *σπαθίαι ἐπιχρυσά*. Vossius proves from Columella, that lame cattle had their feet dressed and secured with it [x]; and that the men of Africa and Spain, in which last country the *spartum* chiefly grew, wore shoes composed of the same matter. Nay, at this day, says

[t] Job Ludolphus, Hist. Aethiopic. l. c. 10.

[u] Idem in Commentario, p. 146.

[w] Vossius ad Catull. p. 48.

[x] See more of such dressings in Vegetius and Schott, ed. Vair, p. 185.

the horses, as well as men, have their feet covered with leather amongst the Chinese and other nations of the East; and he wonders that this mode of shoeing, especially were the sole or under leather to be stuck full of nails, is not followed now, on account of the injury often done to hoofs by using and driving nails, especially where the former happen to be brittle. Aristotle expressly testifies that camels were shod *καπαλίσαις* [y], by which, I apprehend, we are to understand shoes made of leather [z]; and Xenophon mentions a custom of certain Asiatics to tie bags upon their horses feet, in order to prevent their sinking in the snow [a].

SCALIGER thinks the shoes of beasts, of whatever materials they consisted, were put on, and not fastened with nails [b]; and the words of Pliny concerning Poppaea's mules seem to denote as much; 'Nostraque aetate Poppaea, conjux Neronis principis, delicatioribus jumentis suis soleas ex auro quoque induere solebat.' But Vossius much doubts this, 'verum qua ratione,' says he, 'absque clavis id fieri possit, non satis liquet:' and then goes on, 'in vetusto exemplari Hippiatricorum Graecorum quod habeo, cui etiam picturae accedunt, clavorum quibus trajiciantur ungulae signa et vestigia manifeste adparent.' And yet the *συνάψαις* *ἐνὶ γαστρίᾳ* mentioned above could not well be nailed, but must be drawn on and fastened in a different manner, perhaps by being tied round the leg, as the bags abovementioned in the case of snow no doubt were; and as *ὑποδήματα* used for the soleas or shoes of mules, seems to imply.

[y] Hist. Anim. II. 1.

[z] Vide Hutchinson ad *Kyp. Anac.* p. 309. & Vossium ad Catull. l. c. The Bucancers in America used the knees or joints of the raw hides for shoes.

[a] *Kyp. Anac.* p. 319.

[b] See Pitise. ad Suet. Ner. c. 30.

To return from these digressions to our subject. In the West, "Childeric, father of Clovis, founder of the French monarchy, "had his horse shod in the fifth century. It was then customary "to inter the horse along with his rider; and when Childeric's "monument was discovered, anno 1653, a horse-shoe of iron was "found amongst other things. The shoe is small; whence it is "conjectured the animal it belonged to was of little size. Per- "haps only the greatest persons had their horses shod in those "times; and afterwards probably when the practice of shoeing was "more general, the Franks only shod their cavalry occasionally, "as in frost for example, even in the ninth century [c]." This we learn from a passage in Pere Daniel, where, speaking of the horse of Louis le Debonnaire, anno 832, he says, "La gelée qui avoit "suivi [les pluies de l'automne] avoit gâté les pieds de la plupart "des chevaux, qu'on ne pouvoit faire ferrer dans un pais "devenu tout d'un coup ennemi, lorsqu'on y pensoit le moins [d]."

Here in England one has reason to think they began to shoe soon after the Norman Conquest. William the Conqueror gave to Simon St. Liz, a noble Norman, the town of Northampton, and the whole hundred of Falkley, then valued at 40*l.* *per annum*, to provide shoes for his horses [e]. "Henricus de Averyng

[c] Montf. Antiq. of France, p. 4. and plate VI.

[d] Hist. de France, I. p. 566.

[e] Dugd. Bar. I. 38. ex Chron. Bromtoni, p. 974, 975. Blount's Tenures, p. 50. Gamelhere held two carucates of land in Cukenesey, c. Nottingham, of the king, in capite, for the service of shoeing the king's palfrey upon four feet, with the king's nails, or shoeing materials (*de Cluaria* or *Clara domini regis*) as oft as he should be at his manor of Mansfield, and if he put in all the nails (*inclaudet*) the king should give him a palfrey of four marks, or he was to have the king's palfrey, giving him five marks of silver as the jury, 3 E. III. found the service. (Esc. 3 E. III. n. 128.) as he was also, if he lamed the horse, pricked him, or shod him strait, &c. *inclaudet* or *includet*, as it was found, 23 E. I. not so agreeably. Thoroton Nottinghamsh. p. 447. Du Cange explains *Cluarium* the place where the horses were shod, and understands the service of leading the horse from it, and *inclaudet* of the act of shoeing.

" tenuit

* tenuit manerium de Morton in com. Essex [f] in capite de domino rege per sergiantiam invenitendi unum hominem, cum uno equo prelii X s. et quatuor ferris equorum, et uno sacco de correo, et una brochea ferrea, quotiescunque contigerit dominum regem, ipse in Walliam cum exercitu, sumptibus suis propriis per quadraginta dies.* Henry de Ferrer or de Ferrers, who came in with the Conqueror, took his name, as it should seem, from his employment of shoeing; not that he was himself a shoer of horses, a *ferrarius*, but as appointed to direct or superintend that business, in the nature of a *præfectus fabrorum* [g]; and so, when after the Crusades it became the custom for families to take coat-armour hereditarily, a charge of six horse-shoes Sable on a field Argent was assumed by this great house [h]. William the Conqueror brought many horses with him when he invaded England [i]; and most probably the art of shoeing entered the Island at that time. As for the Danes, who landed here so often before, they seldom or never brought any horse along with them: but whenever they were mounted, it was by means of the English horses which they pro-

[f] Blount's Tenures, p. 16. Morant's Essex, I. 144, ex Placit. Coron. 13 E. I.

[g] Vegetius, Lib. II. c. 11.

[h] Brooke's Catalogue, p. 65.—The arms of Gloucester on an old seal of the reign of Edward III. still used for recognizances, are, on each side of the king's head, an horse shoe, near it an horse nail, three below and two above it two and one, and on Crypt-school-gate, built 1529, is the city sword, sided by an horse-shoe, and three horse nails erect in base; alluding to an iron manufacture here in the Conquest. (Rudder's Hist. of Gloucester, p. 134).

Solvit receptori domini par tallai, vii. iiii. in *ferratura* equi senescallis Comput. Rot. 37 E. III. Nash Worcester. in Clent. Append. p. xiii.

[i] He had three horses killed under him. See Stowe, p. 99. Speed, p. 423. Hayward, p. 66, & seq. Montf. Antiq. of France, p. 27, 28. The horses of his army appear to have been shod in the tapestry of Bayeux, ib. pl. xlix.

cured here[k]. Of the Britons, and their proceedings in the affair of shoeing we know nothing, though we are assured they did not want horses, either for their chariots, or for mounting [l], and as for the Saxons, Lincolnshire and East-Anglia, the two districts which seem chiefly to have abounded with horses in their days [m], are both of them countries that could carry on horse-business without shoeing [n]. Thus, in all probability, the custom of shoeing was introduced at the Conquest; and from that *aera* has been the *general*, though not *universal*, practice of the English, as in some places, from the nature of the soil and of business, the seasons of the year, and the like circumstances, it might without damage to the beasts be omitted. And should we suppose, that amongst the ancients, amongst the Thessalians, and others, regard was had to exigence and circumstances in shoeing, or omitting it, it would be no unreasonable or improbable conjecture.

SAMUEL PEGGE.

Whittington, Sept. 14, 1771.

[d] Affer. Menev. p. 15. Rapin, I. p. 121. At Battle Flats, six miles east of York, the scene of the battle between Harold and the Norwegian invaders, 1066, are frequently found in plowing a *very small* sort of horse-shoes, which would only fit an ale, or the least breed of northern horses. Dart's Eboracum, p. 84.

[l] Affer. and Rapin, loc. cit.

[m] See the Essay on the Coins of Cunobelin, *passim*.

[n] See Camd. Lincolnsh. col. 549.

XI. The Question considered, whether England formerly produced any Wine from Grapes. By the Reverend Mr. Pegge.

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 24, 1771.

IT has been a prevailing notion, that England formerly produced some wine; and something in support of that opinion was offered to the Society in 1763, on the introduction, progress, state, and condition, of the vine in England, and the memoir was so well received as to merit a place in the *Archaeologia* *. A gentleman of great knowledge, however, a considerable Antiquary, and a worthy member of the Society, has since been pleased to combat this notion, and to assign certain reasons for his dissent, in that noble and very elaborate work, *Observations on the more ancient Statutes*, &c. p. 207, & seq. Whence it should seem a duty incumbent upon me, either to give up the point in question, or to invalidate his arguments; and the latter, under the Society's favour, I propose here to attempt, with all proper deference and regard to the superior abilities of the Honourable and very learned Mr. Barrington.

I CAN agree readily with our author that the Statute 9 E. III. or A. D. 1335, which restrains foreigners from exporting wine, does not necessarily imply that such wines were of English growth; for we do not find in our histories, that the preceding years had been particularly unfavourable, so as to occasion a scarcity of that commodity. Wines of foreign growth were probably intended; and indeed I am not aware that any person has

* Vol. I. p. 319.

ever drawn an inference from that Statute in favour of the English vineyards. Mr. Barrington, however, has seized an occasion from the words of the Statute, of delivering his opinion concerning these pretended English vineyards, and of declaring that he thinks them either to have been orchards, with Sir Robert Atkins, or rather, according to his own particular sentiments, *currant-gardens*; in short, any thing else but true and proper vineyards.

Mr. Barrington opines, that 'the latitude in which this island is situated sufficiently contradicts what is so generally believed at present concerning our vineyards and vines.' But this is an argument that cannot stand against facts, by which, and by which alone, the capability of a climate to produce a fruit of any kind must undoubtedly be determined. To these then we must go, and to them I shall here have recourse; only I shall beg leave previously to remark, that the latitude of London may be stated, with Mr. Maijland, at 51 degrees and 32 minutes, and that it is an indubitable truth, that islands are warmer than continents. The reason of which, as given by Cicero, is, '*maria agitata ventis ita tepefcunt, ut intelligi facile possit in tantis illis humoribus inclusum esse calorem; nec enim ille externus et adventitius habendus est tepor, sed ex intimis maris partibus agitatione excitatus: quod nostris quoque corporibus contingit, cum motu atque exercitatione recalescunt*' [b]. But whatever becomes of the philosopher's mode of explaining it, the thing is certainly so; and therefore the elegant Minucius Felix, speaking of our island, says with the greatest propriety, '*Britannia sole deficitur, sed circumfluentis maris tepore recreatur*' [c], where see the commentators,

[b] Cicero, de Nat. Deor. II. § 10.

[c] § 18.

This accords perfectly with modern observation; the late Lord Anson remarking, in respect of Falkland Islands, in 51° South latitude, correspondent to that of London, that they must be *temperate*, meaning as to cold weather, in that situation, as being islands at a distance from the continent. The words are, 'Either of these places (Pepys's Island and Falkland's Islands), as they are islands at a considerable distance from the continent, may be supposed, from their latitude, to lie in a climate sufficiently temperate [d].' Monsieur Rapin also declares concerning Ireland, 'Excessive heat and cold are seldom known there, because the vapours rising from the surrounding sea generally qualify these two extremes [e].' Our climate therefore may have a considerable advantage in respect of warmth over places of the same latitude on the continent; and we submit it to enquiry, whether some of the austerer wines may not grow on the Rhine, or on the Maine, in latitudes as high as 49 degrees, which may equal perhaps in coldness ours of 51°.

To prove that the production of fruits does not always depend upon climates, see Strahlenberg's Description of the North and Eastern parts of Europe and Asia, p. 122, 182.

BUT as to this affair of climate, it is best to go to facts. Now the wine made by Mr. Toke of Godington in Kent, Sir Henry Lyttelton, Dr. Ralph Bathurst, &c. [f] ought, methinks, to put the aptitude of our climate for this purpose entirely out of all dispute. When therefore Sir Thomas de la Moor, in the Life of Edward II. [g] mentions the wine of the Isle of Lundy [h] (called there by mistake Conday) one has not the least reason to question

[d] Anson's Voyage p. 91, 4to edit.

[e] Rapin, I. p. 231.

[f] Stowe, p. 224.

[g] P. 599.

[h] See the Archaeologia, and Camden, col. xc.

his veracity; or to distrust his representation; Mr. Stowe had certainly no objection to it. The street now denominated *the Vineyard*, within the walls of the city of London [i]; might produce formerly, we think, very passable grapes; since in London, as it seems, they had vines very commonly in their gardens in the reign of Edward III [2]; and in the year 1151 Robert de Sigilló, bishop of London, and many others with him, were poisoned by eating grapes [3]. Thus facts, on which so much depends in this case, appear to be altogether on our side.

It is suggested again, that All experience shews, that the northern parts of Europe grow warmer, in proportion to their cultivation; from whence it is very clear, that England is more proper for vineyards in the eighteenth century, than it could have been in the thirteenth or fourteenth. But this point is by no means so clear and uncontested, as is here pretended; for Mr. Gordon will tell you [m], that affarting of lands and cutting down timber occasioned barrenness in respect of fruit at Bermudas, where the fall of the cedars, which formerly sheltered their fruit from hurtful winds, is now the cause of its being continually blasted; insomuch that they have none of those fine oranges and other fruits described by the poet in his *Battel of the Sommer Islands* [n]. And in Monsieur le Poivre's *Voyages d'un Philo-*

[i] Maitland, p. 31.

[2] Idem. p. 131. See Bagford's Letter to Hearne, in Leland's *Collectanea*, v. I. p. lxxv, where are mentioned *Vine-street* in Hatton-garden, and St. Giles in the Fields. Add to these the *Vineyards* by Hound-ditch, and Coldbath Fields, and *Vine-street*, Piccadilly.

At *Ware* was *parcus bestiarum silvaticarum et 6 arpennes vinee superrime plantate.* Domesday.

Robert de Todenei, founder of Belvoir priory, gave it the tithe of all his vineyards. Mon. Ang. I. 327.

[3] Johan. Hagulstad. inter X Script. col. 278.

[m] Geographical Grammar, p. 403.

[n] Waller's Poems, p. 49. edit. 1758.

Jospe, it is observed of the Isle of France, that, being once covered with woods, the colonists totally destroyed them by fire, and 'the consequence was, that they exposed their cultivated land to 'the violence of the winds, which frequently sweep away every 'thing upon them [e]. The grubbing of woods, it seems, has not always that beneficial effect, in regard of fruit, which Mr. Barrington supposes. He, I am sensible, inclines to think that climates are at this day more mild than they were anciently [f]; but to judge from our own feelings, in the late winter and spring in England, we have no reason to think ours is at all altered for the better, but continues much *in statu quo*. On the whole, Mr. Barrington's position here is so far from being clear and consonant to experience, that many, I am persuaded, will incline to think in opposition to him, that, in general, the more open a country is, and the less sheltered with woods, the colder it will certainly be; and that now, in the 18th century, our grounds are not quite so warm as they were in the 13th or 14th, through that alteration which the face of the country has undergone by means of assarts and exposures. But whence then arose, you may ask, those horrible famines which we read of now and then in history? Not merely from severity of cold, but various other, and sometimes concurring causes; the unskillfulness of the times in agriculture; the small quantity of land then in tillage; the variableness of our climate; unkindly springs; wet and cloudy summers [g]; and perhaps other untoward incidents; when, under such inclemencies, the grapes no doubt would suffer along with the other fruits, and it would be deemed a *bad year* for them, as it happens at this very season of 1770 in many parts.

[e] Gent. Mag. 1769, p. 496.

[f] In Phil. Trans. and Observations on the Statutes, p. 207.

[g] Maitland, History of London, p. 502.

AND so if the Thames is not now so often frozen as it seems to have been formerly, it is not owing to any melioration of the climate in general, but the now common use of sea-coal in London and its environs; and, since the present vast enlargement, the greater, perhaps quadruple, consumption of fuel in general at this time, compared with that of former ages. Certainly, such an immense quantity of sulphureous and bituminous smoke perpetually impending over the river in winter that *calidoque involoitur undique fumo*, Ovid Met. 232. must have a mighty effect on the perpendicular descent of those icy or freezing particles which would otherwise incommode it.

THE learned author observes next, that the vulgar notion seems to have been chiefly taken up from some old family deeds, that make mention of *Vineae*, but which Sir Robert Atkyns hath proved to signify only orchards, and that cyder and perry were called *Vina*, or wines [r]. Now venerable Bede was too good a classic not to know the true sense of *Vinea*, and he wrote better Latin himself than to use that word for an orchard of apples and pears, and yet he says expressly, speaking of Britain, *Vineas etiam quibusdam in locis germinans* [s]. R. Higden evidently understood the passage of the proper and true vineyard [t]; for, in respect of Ireland, he contradicts Bede [u]; and yet surely Ireland was not destitute of apples and pears. So when we read that Winchester was famous for its *Bacchus* [w], we are obliged to understand wine by that metonymy, as Winchester was never particularly eminent for its orchards. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his book *de*

[r] Sir Robert Atkyns's Gloucestershire, p. 32.

[s] Eccl. Hist. l. c. 1.

[t] Higden, Polychron. p. 192.

[u] Ibid. p. 180.

[w] See the Archaeologia, p. 325.

rebus a se gestis [x], speaking of the proceedings in the Refectory at the Priory of Canterbury, says, 'ad haec etiam in tanta abundantia vinum hic videas et ficeram, pigmentum et claretum, mustum et medonem, atque moretum, et omne quod ebriare potest, adeo ut, &c.' Where common wine is evidently distinguished from cyder, spiced wine, claret, must, mum, and mulberry wine. The like distinction we meet with in Hen. Huntingdon, 'Singulis vasis vini, medonis cervisiae, pigmenti, morati, ficerac, &c.' [y]. So that it would be perfectly ridiculous to suppose, that our ancient authors did not know the difference between wine, and cyder and perry. But what is more express to the purpose, Mr. Lambarde, the great Kentish Antiquary, tells us, that when Edward II, in his 19th year, was at Bockinfold, Haymo de Hethe, bishop of Rochester, sent him thither 'a present of his drinckes, and withal both wine and grapes of his own growth in his vineyard at Halling, which is now a good plain meadow [z].' Edward, it seems, in his return from the sea coasts, came through the Weald of Kent, which he might well do in the month of September [a]. Indeed it does not appear to me at present whence Mr. Lambarde learned this particular concerning the bishop's present at that time; but this is certain, that he was not only a most curious and inquisitive man, but also lived at Halling, and had a valuable property there, inasmuch that his testimony is of great weight. For though it should be allowed to Sir Robert Atkyns and Mr. Barrington, that *Vinea* might be used catachrestically in the county of Gloucester,

[x] In Angl. Sacr. II. p. 483.

[y] P. 367.

[z] Perambul. of Kent, p. 419.

[a] Rapin, I. p. 399.

where apples so greatly abounded, for an orchard, yet it is here absolutely fixed to its primitive and natural sense. *Other drinkes* are not only specified; but the wine and grapes, by way of contradistinction to them, are particularly mentioned. And for the further confirmation of this point, William de Dene, the historian of the see of Rochester, a Notary Public, who was living near, if not at the time, reports, that this bishop, four years before, had renewed his vineyard at Halling: 'post festum (Natalis domini) versus Hallynge divertens, vineam destructam excolere [b] fecit per totam Quadragesimam [c].' This place seems to have been peculiarly adapted to the culture of vines; and indeed it is a warm and promising situation; for the abbess of Malling had also a vineyard here, the bishops of Rochester receiving from her, as we read in another author, a boar and a portion of wax, *pro decimis vinearum de Hallynges* [d]. To return to Mr. Lambarde; He again speaks fully to the point in his Topographical Dictionary, p. 423, where he vouches the records of Windsor for tythe being paid 'of wine pressed out of grapes that grewe in the little parke there, to the abbott of Waltham, and that accompts have bene made of the charges of planting the vines, that greue in the said parke, as also of making the wyne, whereof some partes weare spent in the householde, and some solde for the king's profite.' I shall make no other reflection upon this passage, but that Mr. Lambarde was a person that understood what he read, and well knew what he wrote. The grapes of Nic. Toke of Goddington, Sir Henry Lyttelton, and Dr. Ralph Bathurst, were certainly not apples; and in Robert Swap-

[b] This is common in the Monkish writers for *excoli*. See below in the same page, and often afterwards; also R. Swapham, p. 105 *saep*, 108, 109.

[c] Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* I. p. 363.

[d] *Ibidem*, p. 389.

ham, p. 105, a garden is expressly distinguished from a vineyard, as wine is plainly distinguished from meath in Evan Evans, p. 8[e]. Lord Lyttelton also informs us, vol. III. p. 269, that 'in different years of King Henry the Second's reign allowances were made to the officer who farmed *Windsor* of that prince, for *wine*, *perry*, and *cyder*,' where these articles are clearly distinguished from one another.

BUT here intervenes a string of questions, not difficult indeed to answer, but to which it is expected some regard should be had. First, it is asked, when vineyards were first introduced here? To this it may be answered; soon after the year 280, when the Provincials were taught the use of wine, and the manner of cultivating the plant, by the Romans.

IT is asked next, when these vines, which answered so well centuries ago, were dropped, and for what reason? They declined gradually, when better wine could be had cheap from our French provinces. The advancement of agriculture, no doubt, contributed in part to the relinquishment of them; and slothfulness probably did the rest. But this I shall refer to what has been alleged in the *Archæologia* [f].

THE following question is of a singular nature, yet carries but little weight: 'What are the Saxon terms, or those of the English Glossaries, for a vine, wine-press, the *vigneron*, &c. (for which we have even now no word in our language) at the same time that *vinca* and its derivatives take up many pages in Dugange, and the late Supplement to it by Carpentier?' But we are under no necessity to suppose, that our vineyards here in the Saxon age, or even in the Post-normannic times, were always

[e] See him also, p. 87.

[f] l. p. 329.

of consequence enough to employ particular servants or officers. They were probably committed in most places to the servants that had the care of the gardens of the palaces and monasteries. However, in the reign of King Henry the Second, as we learn from Lord Lyttelton, *loco citato*, an allowance was made to the sheriff 'for mony delivered to his vine dresser at Rockingham, and for 'necessaries for the vineyard.' And it is certain, that the name of *Vinitor* occurs in the Annals of Dunstaple, where we read 'Prior 'dirationant apud Scaccarium misericordiam Stephani vinitoris et 'Petri vinitoris sui [g],' which may be translated *Vine-dresser*. The word *pinæpts* occurs in the Saxon Chronicle [b], and *pin-geapt* in the Saxon version of St. Matth. xxi. 33 [i]; where the wine-press is termed very emphatically *pin-pningan*. It would be unreasonable to expect, that our vine-dressers here in England should be currently described by a particular name. The labourers consequently in St. Matth. c. xx. are only called *pýrtan*, and in Luc. xiii. 7. *hýpæ*.

It is asked lastly, 'Why do we not see the vines shooting 'from the stouls where they formerly grew, as nothing is more 'difficult to be thoroughly grubbed up?' Did vines grow wild, there would be some force in this objection; but as there is such a thing as *grubbing*, which certainly would be done effectually whenever the management of ground was to be changed, it is obvious to suppose, that, in such case, the very stouls would be dug up. Thus, when Domitian ordered the half of every vineyard in the provinces to be converted into arable land, the peasants that complied with the injunction, we may depend upon

[g] Annal. Dunstapl. p. 94.

[b] P. 240.

[i] So also afterwards, and Chap. xx. 1, 2. 8. Vineyard is as legitimate an English word as orchard or hopyard. From hence the surname *Vineyard* probably

it, found ways and means to get rid of the old roots. The hop, I presume, runs as deep into the ground as the vine; and yet the hop-yards in Kent are very frequently turned into other modes of cultivation.

Mr. Barrington excuses himself from giving an answer to a passage in William of Malmesbury, cited by Camden, in his Account of Gloucestershire, 'which, he says, seems to me most clearly to relate to cyder, and not to wine from the grape.' The passage here referred to occurs in the author, p. 283; and I shall here give it at length, as he thinks it so clear in his favour, and that so much may be collected from it. William, speaking of Gloucestershire, says, 'Terra omnis frugum opima, fructuum ferax hic et sola naturae gratia, illic culturae solertia, ut quamvis taedium per se cordiam provocet ad laboris illecebram, ubi multiplicato foenore responsura sit copia. Cernas tramites publicos vestitos pomiferis arboribus non insitiva manus industria, sed ipsius solius humi natura. Ipsa se terra sponte subigit in fructus, eosque sapore et specie caeteris plurimum praestantes. Quorum plures ante annum marcescere nesciunt, ut omnes usque ad novos successores praestent officium. Regio plusquam aliae Angliae provincia vinearum frequentia densior, proventu uberior, sapore jucundior, vina enim ipsa bibentium ora tristi non torquent acedine, quippe quae parum debeant [i. e. cedant] Gallicis dulcedine.' I appeal now to the whole world, whether in this passage the vine is not in the clearest manner distinguished from the apple-tree? He first speaks of the corn, then the apple-trees, and lastly the vines. He specifies particularly *the exquisite taste* of the fruits of *both the latter*; for it would be perfectly absurd to suppose him to be speaking to the end of the quotation of one and the same thing. No; William of Malmesbury was too good a writer to commend the flavour of the Gloucestershire apples in the words

sapores

sapore jucundior, after saying concerning them before, *eoque sapore et specie caeteris plurimum praestantes*; whence it is most evident, that in the words *sapore jucundior* he is pronouncing on a different kind of fruit, that is, the grape; so that I have not the least doubt but both Mr. Twyne [k] and Mr. Camden understood Malmesbury rightly.

WHEREFORE, to draw towards a conclusion, though *vinea*, *vinetum*, *vinale*, and *vinena*, may possibly, by a latitude of expression, mean here and there an orchard; yet, in most cases, they signify a true and proper vineyard. You may say, perhaps, as this gentleman does, they were not common; and it will be confessed they were not so common in England as orchards are now, but nevertheless there were certainly some, and many subsisting at once, in every century since the Conquest; few of our greater religious foundations, in the south at least, as I take it, being without them.

BUT, before I dismiss the subject, I shall beg leave to subjoin a few words on this gentleman's peculiar notion concerning the *currant* or *uva Corinthiaca*. Mr. Barrington thinks, 'that if our ancestors ever made wine, it was from the juice of the currants, and not from the grape,' meaning by currants the fruit of the *ribes vulgaris* [l], or currant of the garden; and not the *uva Corinthiaca* properly so called, of which our people knew nothing till the Levant traders brought it from Zante in the reign of King Henry VIII [m], though the *ribes* has now so generally taken its name. But here one might ask several questions of the like nature with

[k] Joh. Twynus, de Rebus Albion. p. 116.

[l] Of this fruit, whose name Mr. Barrington could not find in the Dictionaries of pure Latinity or the Glossaries, we have a good account in Dr. Hyde de Re'ig. Vet. Pers. p. 540; whence it appears to be of northern extraction, (and to be called *Ribb*, both in Norway and Sweden.

[m] Anecdotes of British Topograph, 1780, vol. I. p. 133.

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those which he has put in respect of the grape. When currants were introduced? whether so early as the Norman Conquest? by what name they anciently occur, as the term *uva Corinthiaca* can be but modern, and *ribes* is also allowed to be but a modern name [a]. The vineyard, or currant garden, according to this author, was certainly as old as the Conquest [c]; and indeed Mr. Barrington supposes the *ribes* might be known here five or six centuries ago; but this may be justly doubted, unless we had some authority for it, which I imagine we have not. I will not be sanguine in a negative of this nature; however, I must think it was incumbent upon Mr. Barrington to have given us *one* at least.

THERE were hundreds of people in this island, and amongst them many monks and ecclesiastics, who had seen *real grapes* in the foreign dominions of our kings, and even the *uva Corinthiaca* in the Levant, and certainly were well acquainted with the difference between them and our *ribes*, both as to the fruit, and the tree or shrub they grow upon; insomuch that it will be thought exceeding strange, that not one of our writers, amongst so many as have mentioned our *vines*, *wine*, and *vineyards*, should have dropped a single word concerning these *ribes*.

BUTlers, can any one think that currant wine, supposing any to have been made here in the beginning of the thirteenth century, or 1220, could be of consequence enough to employ a proper officer, and probably more than one, to attend the shrubbery? See the passage cited above from the Annals of Dunstaple. Indeed it is almost ridiculous to suppose, that such great oeconomists, as the religious fraternities usually were, should keep two servants,

[a] Mr. Barrington, p. 208.

[c] Richard III, p. 317.

under the denomination of *viniferae*, as was done at Dunstable, merely for the sake of making *currant wine*.

HAYMO DE HETHE again, after the 19th of September [p], probably the 23d or 24th of that month, new stile, presented his *grapes* to Edward II. which therefore must have been *proper grapes*, as the season of currants was then in a manner over, and grapes on the contrary began to be in perfection. This is urged upon a presumption, that, supposing there were currants in England then, yet our people were entirely unacquainted at that time of day with the modern mode of preserving them with mats or nets. Nor is it at all probable, that the Rochester historian would take notice, as above, of that prelate's cultivating his shrubbery of currants; that another author there should think it worth while to mention a composition for the tithe of them; and that the tithe should be so valuable as is there stated; and lastly, that the records of Windsor should specify the tithe of common currants apart from other fruits, and be so particular on that subject. These things must appear very wonderful to all thinking and unprejudiced minds; very inconsistent, however, with the opinion of Sir Robert Atkyns, whose authority for saying the English vineyard was nothing but an orchard, and our wines consequently nothing but cyder and perry, is vouched formally by our author above, and great deference paid to it. But what are we to do in this case? whose notion are we to adopt? In short, error is like a deviation from a right line; it is vague, multifarious, not to say endless: and, till Sir Robert Atkyns and Mr. Barrington are agreed, the surest way seems to be to abide by the plain and literal interpretation of the terms *vinea* and *vine-yard*, which bids so fair to be the true one.

Whittington, June 9, 1770.

SAMUEL PEGGE.

[p] Rapin, I. p. 399.

XII. Mr.

[67]

MR. BARRINGTON'S LETTER TO MR. PEGGE

XII. *Mr. Pegge's Observations on the Growth of the
Vine in England considered and answered, by the Hon.
Daines Barrington, in a letter to the Rev. the Dean
of Exeter.*

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, March 24. 25, 1771.

DEAR SIR,

AS you was so obliging the other day as to permit me to peruse some objections which Mr. Pegge hath made to what I have said in "The Observations upon the ancient Statutes," with regard to vines not having been cultivated in England some centuries since; I have read his remarks with that attention with which the arguments of so learned an antiquary will always deserve to be considered.

As, from the introduction of this dissertation of Mr. PEGGE's, I find it is intended to be read before the Society of Antiquaries, I think it is incumbent upon me to lay before them my reasons why I still continue to be unconvinced by what Mr. Pegge hath been pleased to advance.

PAPERS of controversy are never so well understood, as when both sides are indulged with a hearing at the same time. I have therefore been favoured by you with Mr. Pegge's Treatise for some days, in order to make the best defence I am capable of against his ingenious and learned arguments; and I have no doubt but that you will permit it to be read to the Society, whilst the impression of what Mr. Pegge hath urged is fresh, and in its full force.

As Mr. Pegge refers sometimes to what he hath insisted upon in a dissertation on the same point, which is published in the first Volume of the *Archæologia*, I shall endeavour to invalidate the force of what he hath urged both in the one and the other.

If I do not misunderstand Mr. Pegge, he doth not mean to insist that vineyards were ever very common in this country; and therefore there is not really so much in dispute between us as may be at first imagined.

It is not worth while to contend with him whether a few individuals might not perhaps try the experiment, nor what might be the success of it: Mr. Pegge in this is more candid than those who have maintained the same opinion before him.

THE whole of the controversy will depend upon the signification of the word *vineta*, as well as its derivatives; and Carte hath observed, before me, "that most such disputes on points of antiquity arise from the want of a due attention to the diction of the age in which an ancient writer lived, and from the indeterminate and general expressions of the compilers of our old chronicles [a]."

As the whole however which I have ventured to advance on this head depends upon grapes scarcely ripening ever in England at present without the assistance of a wall (where they likewise most commonly fail), it is necessary that this fact must be previously settled between us; especially as Mr. Pegge, in the *Archæologia*, mentions instances of vineyards which have succeeded in more modern times.

OPULENT and whimsical men may have undoubtedly made trials of this sort, and have been willing to deceive themselves for a certain time, by mixing brandy, sugar, and other ingredients, to make their wine tolerably palatable. The ground however being

[a] Vol. II. p. 241.

totally thrown away on which such vineyards are planted, and the cultivation being an expensive one, in a few years

—“laughing Ceres reassumes the land [d].” POPE.

THIS, I can most boldly prophecy, will be the fate of every English vineyard; or in any other part of Europe, in the same northern latitude as even the most southern parts of Great Britain [e].

THAT any one can possibly believe the contrary on some vague expressions in the old chronicles seems rather astonishing. Mr. Pegge indeed relies upon the wine which was made from Mr. King's vineyard at Brompton; but when Mr. King's next neighbour would tell him that his grapes on a southern wall are seldom good, what is to be the magic which will ripen them in Mr. King's two or three acres of vineyard, which hath not the same additional warmth?

If what I have asserted is not most notorious to every inhabitant of this island, I must own, that the whole I have ventured to advance on this head is built on a most weak foundation.

ASSUMING it however to be a known and indisputable fact, it is not necessary for me to enter into any discussion whether the climate of Great Britain is not become more mild than it was,

[d] Thus Thomas Earl of Arundel attempted to introduce a vineyard at Albury; as did the Honourable Charles Howard at Deepden. See Camden in Surry.

[e] Liebaud begins his 49th chapter of his *Maison Rustique* in the following manner;

“In such countries as the vine cannot bear fruit on account of the cold disposition of the air;” and he then instances Bretagne, Normandy, Mans, Chartrain, and Touraine. Suriset's Translation of Liebaud, printed in 1616, folio.

Lord Bacon also observes, that the grapes in France will not ripen but very near the ground; and that in England they require a south wall. Cent. V. Ex- per. 430, 432.

which.

which I have always considered as a settled consequence from its improvement in agriculture.

THE point in contest is, whether England could have ever had any number of vineyards, as a common article of cultivation. Now as I take upon myself to say that such vineyards will not succeed in the present century; it therefore lies upon Mr. Pegge to prove that the climate was milder some centuries ago than it is now, as I am in possession of this fact, which is a stubborn one.

I SHALL now endeavour to settle the meaning of the word *vinum*, and its derivatives; the want of which is the occasion of the present point in dispute.

THE terms *οινος* or *vinum*, when used by classical authors, who wrote in countries where wines ripened kindly, are undoubtedly to be applied in most instances to a liquor made from the juice of grapes: however, they are sometimes used to signify wine from other ingredients.

THUS Herodotus twice mentions wine produced from grapes; which he need not have done, if *οινος* did not sometimes import a liquor made from other fruits.

“ Διδόλαι δὲ σφι καὶ οἶνος ἀμπελίνος,” p. 104. edit. Gale.

“ Καὶ οἶνος ἀμπελίνος ἀνασιμῆσαι.” *ibid.* p. 113.

“ Οἶνον δὲ μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντα οὐκ ὁμοίῳ τῷ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐκβλίσκομενον ἐκ τῆς ἀμπελῶν, ἑτέρου δὲ γλευκοῦ τινος βαρβαρικοῦ εὐεφορηθῆσαν.” The embassy of Justin to the Persians, *Byz. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 103. ed. Ven.

THE sweet liquor here alluded to, and called wine, was probably a composition from honey, somewhat like our metheglin; and therefore, according to the ancient mythology, Bacchus was considered as the first discoverer of the uses which might be made of honey, as well as of grapes:

“ — & a Baccho mella reperta ferunt.”

OVID. *Fasti*, L. III. l. 735.

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THE same God is for the same reasons said to have taught the northern nations how to brew from corn [d].

THE word *vinum* is applied by Pliny in the same extensive sense as the word *οινος* by the Greek writers.

"Fiunt vina et e pomis." L. xiv. c. 16.

"Fit vinum ex aqua ac melle tantum." Ibid. c. 17.

THE same author describes the fruit of the *amonum*, and gives it the appellation of *uva*, though the tree is very essentially different from the vine.

He likewise in other parts (together with Columella) speaks of the *vindemia mellis* [e].

FROM these citations it appears, that even in the ages of classical antiquity the meaning of this word depended upon the context.

THE material point however is, to discover its genuine signification in times when most corrupt Latinity prevailed, though *vinum*, *vinca*, &c. are admitted to be very pure and classical terms.

THUS the words *monstrum*, *pons*, *vinitor*, are used by the writers of the Augustan age, and I believe invariably in the same sense, viz. *a monster*, *a bridge*, and *a vigneron* or *vine-dresser*; yet in Rymer the first of these always imports a review or muster of an army; as, "De monstribus capiendis" is rather a common title in that compilation.

THE second *a causeway*, or *stairs to the river*, at least in one instance, as it is applied to a bridge near the Temple in London [f].

[d] Dios. Sic. l. iv. c. 2.

[e] Flacourt, who published his voyage to Madagascar so late as 1661, uses the French word *vin* in the same sense: "Les peres des enfans font apporter du vin, ou bien auparavant ont apporte du miel pour en faire." p. 64.

[f] See an order De *ponte Novi Templi Londoniae reparando*. Rymer, vol. III. p. 94. Hague ed.

THE third (as I hope to shew from a citation which Mr. Pegge much relies upon) signifies a *vintner*, and not a *vine-dresser*, according to his translation, which is allowed however to be the true classical sense of the word [g].

I SHALL NOW proceed to answer all the authorities which Mr. Pegge hath insisted upon; having first stated some passages to shew, that *vineæ* sometimes must relate to orchards of some other fruit, as well as to plantations of the vine.

DU CANGE, under the article *Vineatus*, gives us the following citation from a MS. intitled, *Statuta criminalia Saoniarum*: "Nec quisquam possit nec praesumat in aliquo horto, giardino, viridario, campo, aut aliqua terra alia *vineata*, &c."—where the term *vineatus* refers to every kind of cultivation, and the vineyard of grapes is entirely omitted, though in a country where they will ripen. Thus also Muratori, in his *Antiquities of Italy*, cites an old deed, which makes mention of a *vineæ* "inter uvas et alios fructus." T. II. col. 35.

CARPENTIER, in his lately published Supplement to Du Cange, under the article *Vinale*, cites the following passage from a charter in the French king's library: "Item emit ab Hugone Bec nobili XII denariis Ruth. censualibus, quos sibi debebat pro quodam *vinali*, seu *ortis de Rienvielb*;" where *orti* are plainly used as synonymous to *vinale*.

CARPENTIER again renders the word *vindemiae* by *fructus quoslibet colligere*, and supports this signification by an authority from Muratori.

[g] Brompton mentions that Ireland was not without *pavones*. The word *pavo* is certainly classical, and means a peacock; will it be contended, however, that Brompton conceived there were really peacocks in Ireland?

The cock of the wood, or *argallus*, was anciently not uncommon in Scotland (see Taylor, the water poet) where it is called a capercally. They might have also been formerly in Ireland; and it is to this bird which Brompton undoubtedly alludes, Dec. Script. col. 1072.

HE also explains the article *vinena* to be "*ager vineis arboribusque confitus*," by another passage from Muratori; and such a plantation it should seem were the "*cypresses in the vineyards of Engedi*."

I HAVE applied to a learned friend, to be informed what was the Hebrew word used in relation to these vineyards of Engedi; who informs me, that *carme*, though commonly translated vineyards, does not always import a plantation of vines, but often a garden, or nursery of aromatic plants; so that the term for a vineyard seems to be used in a very extensive signification in all languages.

IT is clear from these and other passages which might be produced, that the words *vinea*, &c. relate often to other trees, as well as vines; and I take the occasion of it to have been the following. In that yard or small inclosure which it hath always been convenient to have near the house, it was usual, in those countries which are warm enough to ripen grapes, to have a few vines, which were eight or ten centuries ago almost the only fruit cultivated in any part of Europe.

HENCE, in the more northern countries, the same term was used for the same sort of inclosure, though instead of a vine they were obliged to introduce apples, pears, gooseberries, currants, or other fruit suitable to their climate.

FROM this circumstance, even in warmer latitudes, the term *vigne*, which properly signifies a vine, or vineyard, is to this day applied by the French to a house, including also a small garden.

Thus Madame de Bocage, in her lately printed Letters, styles the Villa Pamphili, Borgheze, and Montalto, *vigne Pamphili*, *vigne Borgheze*, &c.; and afterwards, speaking of them in general, "*ces vignes si riches en antiquités*."

THE Dictionary of Trevoux also cites Spon for using the word *vigne* in the same sense, and applying it to the Vatican and its gardens.

THE Dictionary of the French Academy likewise under the same article informs us, "On appelle *vignes* les maisons de plaisance aux environs de Rome, et de quelques autres villes d'Italie."

IT is very clear from these authorities that the word *vinea* is sometimes applied even in the wine countries to a garden or orchard; and it seems to be a most fair inference, therefore, that when it relates to a plantation of fruit trees in Great Britain, without any explanatory context, it must refer to a garden of those fruits which will ripen in our climate.

IT must otherwise be contended, that, if this same term is made use of in an History of Sweden or Norway, it still must necessarily, *ex vi termini*, signify a vineyard of grapes.

BJORNER, in his very curious collection of ancient northern stories, which he published in the original Icelandic (together with a translation both into Swedish and Latin) states, that some Russians went into a wood to pick "*pyra, aliosque fructus.*" The Icelandic original however makes mention of "*perur och plumur*;" and the Swedish, "*paron och ploman* [b]."

IT is very evident, that these Icelandic and Swedish terms signify *pears* and *plumbs*; but as they are to be picked in a Russian wood, the fruits must have been *sloes* and *bips*, one sort of which is so like a pear, that Ray in his Synopsis stiles it *pyriformis*.

THIS is at once an answer to all those passages relied upon by Mr. Pegge, which mention the word *vinea* without any further explanatory circumstances. I shall therefore proceed to consider those authorities which are supposed to imply, that the fruit of grapes must be more particularly alluded to.

THE first of these, in point of chronology, is, that Bede, in speaking of England, says, "*vineas etiam in quibusdam locis germinant.*"

[b] See the Sagan of Samsones fragra (or the History of Sampson the Fair), c. 20.

If I conceived that this passage was at all decisive, I might decline the authority of Bede; because in the same chapter he says, that at twelve o'clock at night in the summer it is so light that you would conceive it to be the break of day, and that Ireland projects so far to the southward, that it is opposite to the northern coast of Spain.

As the epitaph [i] upon his monument however informs us, that he lived his whole life in Northumberland, I think the warmest partizans for vineyards of grapes cannot venture to apply it to that species of fruit.

If it be contended that he speaks of vineyards in more southern parts of England; the answer is, that he probably knew as little about them as he did of the southern parts of Ireland, which he hath placed so many degrees nearer the equator than they really are.

It is well known, that when Bede wrote, there was scarce any communication between Northumberland and London.

Mr. Pegge indeed admits himself, that Bede was mistaken in supposing that there were vineyards of grapes in Ireland; but that Higden must have understood the expression in its true sense, because he corrects Bede with regard to this particular. I understand however R. Higden to contradict Bede with regard to *orchards*, which the Irish certainly had not even at the time he wrote, as the kings of Ireland, even so late as the reign of Richard the Second, seem to have been as little civilized as the savages of North America [k].

THE cultivation of a vineyard or orchard requires not only a proper climate, but a progress of improvement in agriculture. Hence Pliny informs us, that in the time of Romulus, there

[i] In Smith's edition of Bede's works.

[k] See Froissart, L. iii. p. 204. Printed at Lyon, by Jean de Tourne, without date.

being few vineyards in Italy, he made a law, requiring that the libations on the graves of the deceased should consist of milk, and not of wine.

Mr. Pegge next relies upon two passages from Lambarde, The first of these he is so candid as to acknowledge that he does not know what might be his authority for.

IN the second (which is in page 423 of his Topographical Dictionary) Mr. Lambarde indeed talks of records, but he neither cites the words of the original, nor informs us where it can be found.

LET Mr. Lambarde's antiquarian knowledge therefore be what it may, I cannot pay any deference whatsoever but to the original record, or passage cited at length from it.

THE present point in dispute is merely upon the signification of a word; and I hope to shew, that every passage which I can examine in the original author will not be found to invalidate any opinion I have ventured to advance; but, on the contrary, to corroborate it.

Mr. Pegge then cites Giraldus Cambrensis and Henry Huntingdon, to shew, that they knew the difference between wine, cyder, and perry; and there can be no doubt that such liquors (if they are set in opposition to each other) may have names by which they may be particularly specified. With regard to one of these, however, the term *ficera*, though Mr. Pegge seems to conclude that it only signifies cyder, I can shew that every sort of liquor is also sometimes included under this word, and amongst the rest *ale*. See Du Cange in articulo, where he refers to some Norman records. We have borrowed indeed not only the liquor, but the term for it, from the Normans, as no such word as *ficera* is to be found in Sir Henry Spelman's Glossary.

THE 22d of Charlemagne's Capitularies directs, that such of his tenants as have planted vines shall bring him three or four baskets of grapes; whilst the 4th article speaks of brewers, together

ther with the makers of cyder and perry, which seems to shew, that wine was not then the liquor established for the emperor's household. See Monsieur de Seconde's Notice de Diplomes, Paris, 1765, folio, p. 212, & seq.

BUT the passage which is chiefly dwelt upon, by those who maintain that we had formerly vineyards in England, is from William of Malmesbury [1]; which it is necessary to state at length, and afterwards give my own translation of the more material part.

"TERRA (sc. Gloucestershire) omnis frugum opima, fructuum
 "ferax, hic & *sola naturae gratia*, illic culturae solertia, ut quam-
 "vis *taediosum* per *socordiam* provocet ad laboris illecebram, ubi
 "conduplicato foenore responsura sit copia. Cernas tramites pub-
 "licos, vestitos pomiferis arboribus, non insitivâ manus industriâ,
 "sed ipsius solius humi naturâ. Ipsa se terra sponte subrigit in
 "fructus eosque sapore et specie plurimis praestantes, quorum
 "plures ante annum marcescere nesciunt, ut omnes usque ad no-
 "vos successores praestent officium. Regio plusquam *aliae An-*
 "gliae provinciae vinearum frequentia densior, proventu uberior,
 "sapore jocundior, vina enim ipsa bibentium ora non tristi tor-
 "quent acedine, quippe quae parum debeant [m] Gallicis dul-
 "cedine."

"THE paths and roads of Gloucestershire have on each side of
 "them trees bearing fruit, which are not planted, but grow spon-
 "taneously. The excellence of the soil is such, that it teems
 "with fruits, which both in flavour and beauty excel most
 "others, many of which will keep till they are supplied by new
 "fruits the succeeding year. This county hath more *plantations*
 "of fruit trees than any other county in England, and produces
 "a greater quantity of fruit, which is also of a better flavour.
 "The liquor made from it therefore does not contract or distort
 "the labial muscles by its acidity, as its sweetness may be set in
 "competition with the French liquors of the same sort."

[1] De Gest. Pont. l. iv.

[m] Others read *cedunt*.

I HAVE thus literally translated the passage so much relied upon by Camden and others, without introducing either the term *cyder* or *wine*, upon which indeed the whole dispute will depend.

THAT the fruit and liquor hereby alluded to is *apples* and *cyder*, will appear from the following reasons.

It is agreed on all hands, that the first part relates to apple trees, which William of Malmesbury states to have grown in such profusion, and spontaneously: but he says nothing farther with regard to their fruits, except that they were beautiful to the eye, pleasant to the taste, and that some of them would keep the whole year round.

Is it to be supposed, that no cyder was drunk in the county of Gloucester at this time? Fuller [n] however informs us, that this liquor was made in Gloucestershire sooner than any other county of England; and if it was, how could William of Malmesbury conclude his panegyric upon these apples thus before described, without mentioning the excellence of the liquor made from them?

How naturally therefore does it follow, after mentioning what grew spontaneously on the sides of the paths and roads, to take notice of the orchards, which he affirms to be in greater number than in any other county of England!

WILL it be contended, that there were at this time vineyards of grapes in every county of England, so as to enter into some degree of competition with Gloucestershire? or is it not more probable that the comparison must relate to apples?

THE decisive proof however that wine from grapes cannot be alluded to, is the following.

WILLIAM of Malmesbury says, that the liquor made from these plantations (to use a word of an indifferent signification) "was not disagreeably acid, and in reality was little inferior to the French liquors in point of sweetness."

[n] Worthies, p. 350.

THIS cannot possibly be a comparison between the wines made from English and French grapes, because the French have not to this day perhaps any sweet wines whatsoever.

IT seems to be very clear on the other hand, that we owe the introduction of cyder into this country to our early connections with Normandy, as many of the apples in our orchards still retain the French names.

THIS is therefore only a distinction between rough and sweet cyder; and proves that, when William of Malmesbury wrote, the Norman cyder was commonly more sweet than that of England.

IF this citation from William of Malmesbury was not, as I conceive, so very decisive in my favour, I might well dispute any inference whatsoever to be drawn from the passage.

IT is a most florid description, which in every word of it almost hath the strongest appearance of inaccuracy.

THE Scotch song of *Bonny Christi* begins,

“How sweetly smells the summer green!

“Sweet taste the *peach*, and cherry.”

IT might be as well contended from these lines, that peaches ripen kindly in Scotland, and before the *summer* is over.

WILLIAM of Malmesbury moreover makes apple trees to be of indigenous growth in this country; and I doubt much whether even crabs are so, as I never happened to see them but where I could account for their having been planted.

HE says, that most sorts of these spontaneous and excellent flavoured apples will keep the whole year; whereas it is very well known that we have very few sorts that can be so long preserved even with the greatest care.

IN the very next period he describes the *bigra*, or extraordinary equinoctial tide of the Severn, to happen every day, “in eo (sc. *fluvio*) *quotidianus aquarum furor*,” which he afterwards says will sink a ship.

I HAVE

I HAVE seen this extraordinary equinoctial tide come in near Gloucester, and was told, that if a boat (*much less a ship*) happened to meet it, there was little or no danger whatsoever; besides, it is well known that such tides only happen at the equinox.

HAVING taken notice of these inaccuracies of William of Malmesbury, I should not think it worth while to criticize his Latinity, did not Mr. Pegge seem to draw an argument from its purity.

I BELIEVE it will be difficult to find the word (*taediosus*) in any author of classical Latinity; but I will venture to go further, in saying, that as it is formed from *taedium*, it can never be properly used to signify a *lazy man*, as William of Malmesbury applies it, "ut quamvis *taediosum* per socordiam ad labores provocet."

THE next authority which is produced is from the Annals of Dunstable, p. 94; from whence the following extract is made: "Prior distraxerat apud scaccarium misericordiam Stephani vinitoris et Petri vinitoris sui;" which Mr. Pegge supposes to mean the Prior's vigneron or vine-dresser.

VINITOR undoubtedly is a classical word, and, when used by a classical writer, signifies a *vine-dresser*; but I think it is very clear, from this short citation, that *vinitor* should not be thus rendered in the Annals of Dunstable.

Is it probable, that two day-labourers, and at that time *villains*, should have any fine to compound or dispute at the king's exchequer? If we suppose however that these two men were vintners, who supplied the monastery with wine, and who had been guilty of smuggling, there is no necessity whatsoever to occasion a different reading, as is suggested by Hearne [o].

DU CANGE accordingly explains the word *Vinator* to signify a *wine merchant*.

[o] Arch. I. p. 327. note [s].

AN extract from Lord Lyttelton's History of Henry the Second, Vol. III. p. 269, is next relied upon, by which it appears, that an allowance was made to the sheriff of Northamptonshire for money delivered to the king's *vine-dresser* at Rockingham, and for *necessaries* for the vineyard.

HIS Lordship refers to the 10th chapter of Madox's History of the Exchequer for these particulars; and it is true that Madox renders the words *vineator* and *vinea* by *vine-dresser* and *vineyard*.

As Madox however subjoins in a note the original words used in the record, which are *vineator* and *vinea*; and as this *vinea* was situated so much to the northward at Rockingham; I shall translate the words by *gardiner* and *garden*.

WHAT *necessaries* besides are wanted for a vineyard but *labour*? Many different articles, and expensive ones however, might be requisite for a king's garden?

MR. Pegge mentions another particular (which he uses as a proof that we had formerly vineyards in England); viz. that a bishop of London (Robert de Sigillo) was poisoned, A. D. 1151, by eating of grapes.

UPON consulting the original [p], it appears, that not only this prelate, but many others, suffered, after partaking of the same feast. It seems therefore to be highly probable these were raisins, or dried grapes; because poison cannot well be concealed on grapes freshly picked from the vine, but may very easily be so, amongst the dirt which commonly adheres to dried grapes.

IT is said also by Mr. Pegge, that the Isle of Lundy had formerly vineyards in it. Upon consulting the original, the passage runs thus; "ad hanc insulam (sc. Lundy) victualibus uui-

[p] Decem Script. p. 278.

"versaliter abundantem, tamen abundante vino, oleo, melle, frumento, brasio, carnibus, et terrestri carbone instuffatam, &c. [g]."

ALL that can be inferred from this passage is, that the Isle of Lundy, being in the Bristol channel, was used to deposit smuggled goods in, without paying the duties at Bristol. If it is contended that the wine was produced on the island itself, the same authority will prove that there were also oliveyards.

I SHALL now proceed to answer the citations from Domesday, which speaks so often of *vineae*, though, the word being attended with no context, I think I have sufficiently obviated any inference which can be drawn from such an authority.

IN this respect I am so fortunate as to be able to rely upon what hath been advanced by others, and particularly by Mr. Agard, who was, as Sir Henry Spelman [r] informs us, "venerandi hujus monumenti custos, et in eo archivisque regis verissimus."

AFTER this character which Sir Henry Spelman gives of this great Antiquary, he adds, that he conceived the *vineae* mentioned in Domesday to be only *gardens*; and as Sir Henry Spelman does not contradict this opinion, it is but a fair inference that he thought in relation to this point as Agard did.

THIS opinion therefore, however novel and paradoxical it may be considered, does not rest merely upon Sir Robert Atkyns's and my own poor authority; as we have a right to insist upon the sanction of Agard, Sir Henry Spelman, and a learned man, who was cotemporary of Camden's [r], and whose opinion he combats. I might also add Rapin to this list.

As for the word *Arpenna* being applied to the *vineae* in Domesday, surely nothing can be inferred from thence, as it is admitted

[g] Tho. de la Moor in Camden's *Anglica Normannica*, p 599.

[r] Glossary, in the article *ARPENNIS*.

[r] Brit Col. xc.

also, that the same measure is made use of with regard to meadows and woods.

DU CANGE informs us likewise, that it is in reality no more circumscribed than the French word [*t*] *arpent* seems to be at present in its signification.

BUT it is said, that many streets and places, in London, Westminster, and the neighbourhood, are called *vineyards*, from grapes having been anciently cultivated on those spots.

THIS great city, which even so many centuries ago was so considerable, seems to be a most ill-chosen situation for such kind of husbandry.

IF the grapes were planted for the purpose of making wine, it must be admitted that they were ripe.

I SHOULD be glad therefore now to be informed what walls or fences could have been made use of, to prevent the apprentices, and other inhabitants of this great metropolis, from taking at least their tithe of such a vineyard.

I WILL refer this to those who happen to have turnep and pease fields near London at present, which are by no means so great a temptation as a vineyard of ripe grapes would be.

IT however so happens, that there is one place in the neighbourhood of London thus called a *vineyard*, which it is absolutely impossible to have ever cultivated for the purpose of making wine.

PART of Dr. James's garden at Lambeth continues to bear this name, which was originally proper for nothing but a decoy, till the Doctor had raised and drained the ground at a very considerable expence.

I THINK it will be scarcely contended, that such a spot was pitched upon for a vineyard of grapes. There might however

[*t*] Arpenna, modus agri. Du Cange, in articulo.

have been a small garden on a slip of dry ground, from whence in my sense of the word it might have received the name of a vineyard.

A SMALL garden or orchard might also have been made in those other parts of London which retain the name of vineyard; and it is no great expence to build a wall round such a garden, as is the general practice at present.

INGULPHUS [a] mentions, that he had obtained from William the Conqueror, "chartam suam de donatione totius vineae carii loci (sc. Croyland)." Now I will refer it to any one who hath been at Croyland, whether this *vinea* must not have been a garden for the use of the monastery, and whether the situation is not much more proper for willows than grapes, even if the latitude of the place was not so much to the northward.

Mr. Pegge next argues from the term vineyard being a common and known English word; so however is oliveyard, and yet it will not be contended from hence, that olives ever ripened in England.

I do not mean to omit giving the best answer I am able to every passage which Mr. Pegge relies upon in support of his opinion; and I believe *decantatum illud* of *Wintonia Baccbo* is the only one which remains.

IT is inferred from these two words at the end of an old monkish Hexameter, that Winchester formerly was surrounded with vineyards of grapes.

THERE are eight of these Hexameters, which I do not think it worth while to copy. They may be found however in Neville's *Norwicus*, p. 23.

THE first line ends with—*Wintonia Baccbo*, and the third with—*Cantuaris pisce*.

[a] Hist. p. 75.

We have therefore the same authority for Canterbury's being famous for its fish, as we have for the celebrity of Winchester for its wine.

Now there is a good trout stream undoubtedly which runs by Canterbury; but as the town is at some distance from the sea, and as the Kentish coast does not produce any great variety or plenty of fish, all the inference I can draw from these lines is, that the writer had seen a great profusion of fish at a feast given by an archbishop at Canterbury. He possibly had also drunk some wine at Winchester that he much approved of, and which was brought from the neighbouring parts of Southampton. As the ancient kings of England resided much at their palace at Winchester, it is highly probable, that the best cheer both in eating and drinking prevailed much there.

BUT it is urged that Twine derives the name of this town from the wine which was made near Winchester [x].

IN this however he is contradicted by almost every Antiquary of eminence.

CAMDEN derives it very justly from the British word *Gwin* (or white) on account of the soil being chalky [y].

GALE's etymology is from a bishop Wyna, who resided much there; and I find by Newcourt's Repertory, that he lived in the seventh century [z].

SMITH [a] hath recourse, indeed, to another derivation of the name of Winchester, and supposes it to have anciently been called *Caer-Guent*, citing Alfred of Beverly and Henry of Huntingdon.

[x] See Comment. p. 116.

[y] Brit. Vol. I. col. 134.

[z] Vol. II. p. 198.

[a] Appendix to Bede, p. 656.

It so happens, however, that there is in Madox's History of the Exchequer [b], a strong proof, that in the time of Henry the Second (who resided, as well as many of his predecessors, much at Winchester) no wine was made from these celebrated vineyards which his Majesty or his household chose to drink; as there is an allowance to the fermor of the town of Hampton for carrying wines to several of this King's palaces, which were consequently therefore imported.

It appears also, by the same authority [c], that during this reign a Duke and Dutchess of Saxony visited England, and were entertained at Winchester, amongst other palaces of the king; notwithstanding which, we find an order to the Sheriff of Hampshire, for corn, barley, and honey, to make ale with, for the use of these great personages.

I SHALL now proceed to consider the answers which Mr. Pegge hath given to the queries which I have ventured to state in the Observations on the ancient Statutes.

I HAD asked (it is true) when vineyards were first introduced in this country. And Mr. Pegge replies very explicitly, about the year 280, whilst England was a Roman province; and he also gives his authorities for this conjecture [d].

Mr. Pegge is obliged to admit, that in the time of Agricola there were no vines in Britain; and that this great general, who resided so long here, thought that the climate was not warm enough to produce them. "Praeter oleam vitemque & caetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum, &c." It is remarkable also, that he says of the corn, *tardè mitescunt* [e].

If vineyards could have been introduced by any Roman general who commanded in England, we should certainly have owed

[b] See ch. x. p. 252. 1st ed.

[c] Ibid.

[d] See Arch. I. p. 231.

[e] Tacit. in vita Agricolæ, c. 12.

this improvement to Agricola; for though he was himself, perhaps, rather of a severe character, Tacitus informs us, that he promoted every sort of luxury amongst the inhabitants of this country, from motives of policy.

“PAULATIMQUE discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus & balnea, & conviviorum elegantiam, idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, quum pars servitutis esset [].”

Mr. Pegge, however, supposes that the climate of this island was so favourable to vineyards, notwithstanding this express authority of Agricola to the contrary, that the planting of grapes was only deferred on account of an edict of Domitian, which is to be found in Suetonius, Domit. c. 7.

“AD summam quandam ubertatem vini, frumenti vero inopiam, existimans (sc. Domitianus) nimio vinearum studio negligi arva, edixit ne quis in Italia novellaret, utque in provinciis vineta succiderentur, relicta uti plurimum dimidia parte, nec exsequi rem perseveravit.”

THE same authority, therefore, which furnishes us with this edict of Domitian, informs us, that it was never put in execution, and consequently could have no effect any where.

SUPPOSING, however, that this Emperor had most strenuously insisted upon obedience to his law, how could it relate to England, which Agricola says was too cold a climate for vineyards, and very few years before Domitian issued this proclamation?

IN the Empress of Russia was to publish an edict, either for the improvement or destroying of vineyards throughout her territories, such a proclamation would be attended to at Astracan, but not at Tobolski.

HOWEVER, according to Mr. Pegge, this inhibition prevented the Britons from thinking of this species of cultivation, till the Emperor Probus gave them full permission.

WE have an account of this edict of Probus in three different authors.

"UNUM sane sciendum est, quod Germani omnes cum ad auxilium a Proculo vocarentur, Probo potius perservire voluerunt, quam cum Bonoso & Proculo esse. Gallis omnibus & Hispanis ac Britannis *hinc permittit* ut vites haberent, vinumque conficerent [g]."

AURELIUS VICTOR confines the encouragement which Probus gave for the cultivation of vineyards to Pannonia and Moesia [b].

THE words of Eutropius are, "Vineas Gallos & Pannonos habere permittit [i]."

THESE three historians, therefore, differ very materially with regard to the indulgence granted by Probus; but to take the passage as it stands in Vopiscus, though he wrote later than either Aurelius Victor or Eutropius, and was therefore probably not so well informed, the reason given for this Emperor's repealing Domitian's edict, as to the Galli and Britanni, is mentioned by the same author: "Quod Germani omnes cum ad auxilium essent rogati a Proculo, Probo potius perservire maluerunt, quam cum Bonoso & Proculo esse."

How were the inhabitants of England then entitled to Probus's protection, when the whole merit of adhering to this Emperor's cause is stated to have been in the Germans?

[g] Vopiscus in Probo, c. 18.

[b] In Caes. c. 37.

[i] L. ix. c. 11.

THE Britanni, therefore, here alluded to were not the English, but a people who were situated on the banks of the Rhine[¹]; and it was probably necessary to specify them, because they were not included in what the Romans then called Germania.

As those who contend that we had formerly vineyards in England generally attribute the introduction of them to the Romans, it seems to follow that the inhabitants of this country must have continued this cultivation till the time in which the Monkish writers speak of *vineae*.

If this was so, the Saxons made wine from these English vineyards; and I therefore had asked (in the Observations on the Ancient Statutes) what were the Anglo-Saxon terms for the *vine*, *wine-press*, *vigneron*, &c.; to which Mr. Pegge answers, that *pingeanb* is used for a vineyard.

My query however relates to the *vine*, and not to a *vineyard*, as I knew well that this word had necessarily been so rendered in the Saxon Gospel; and if I had been aware that there was any mention of a wine-press in the New Testament, I should not have asked the Saxon term for it, any more than for a vineyard: because the translator was obliged to coin a new word on such an occasion.

THERE is great reason however to think that the Saxons had no term for a grape, or the fruit of the vine, because Dr. Hickes observes that the text in St. Matthew, "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles," runs thus in the Saxon Version, *cuspep tu romungar of ðopnum sceappum uvar, oððe of hazapornum sicbeam* [¹]. It seems evident from this, that the translator had no Saxon word for the fruit of the vine; otherwise he would not have used the Latin term of *uvas* [^m].

[¹] See Baudrand, in articulo.

[¹] Hickes, Gramm. Anglo-Saxon. p. 92. in Thes. Sept. I.

[^m] This is also a most convincing proof (if it wanted any) that the Saxon version of the Gospels was from the Latin, and not from the Greek.

MR. Pegge says, it is unreasonable to expect that there should be a Saxon word for a *vigneron*, or vine-dresser; but it seems to me that in all countries where vineyards are cultivated, there should be such a peculiar term, and I appeal to pages in Du Cange and Carpentier for a proof of this.

I HAD asked also when these vineyards, which are supposed to have answered so well centuries ago, had been dropped, and for what reason?

To this Mr. Pegge answers, that they declined gradually when "better wine could be had *cheap* from our French provinces; and "that the advancement of agriculture and slothfulness probably "did the rest."

How the two latter causes, of improvement in agriculture, and slothfulness, could at the same time contribute to the disuse of vineyards, I do not perfectly comprehend.

IN answer however to Mr. Pegge's first reason on this head, it may be observed, that there was a very considerable number of vineyards in the neighbourhood of Bourdeaux so far back as the time of Ausonius, as appears by several of his poems.

THE inhabitants of this island therefore might have imported this wine of Gascony, from the century in which Ausonius flourished; and they might have purchased it then *cheaper*, because I believe it will not be contended that we have had any custom-house officers for the security of duties till the time of the Norman Conquest.

IF my memory does not fail me in this particular, Gascony did not belong to the crown of England till the reign of Henry III. when it is well known there were established duties on wine, which were perhaps the most considerable branch of the British revenue. The wines of Bourdeaux were become consequently dearer instead of cheaper as Mr. Pegge supposes.

WHILST I am on this head, I will beg leave to ask another question, whether there is any other instance of a new kind of cultivation,

cultivation, which hath answered at least tolerably well for centuries, being entirely dropped?

Do not the French continue to plant olives, and raise mulberries, for their silk worms in Provence, though the Lucca oyl and Piedmontese silk are perhaps better?

Do they not continue to cultivate oranges in the island of Hyeres, though those of Portugal are much superior?

Do they not, in different parts of France, also continue to make a miserable wine, called *vin du pays*, though in certain provinces of that kingdom the wines are allowed to be superior to any others in the globe?

Mr. Pegge insists likewise that there were vineyards so far north as Derbyshire; I must therefore ask why they were not more particularly kept up in such an inland county, where the carriage of wine in hogheads from any sea port must have been so expensive and inconvenient?

If the English also made any wine at all from their own vineyards, the grapes were consequently ripe; and, if they were so, why did not they permit a few of them at least to remain as fruit-trees?

Mr. Pegge himself, citing that most valuable work, *Anecdotes of British Topography*, p. 61, admits, that all the other fruits of our gardens, viz. peaches, nectarines, and apricots, were not introduced till the time of Henry VIII; why the vine therefore, which was our only fruit tree, should be thus entirely extirpated, it is not very easy to conceive.

THIS brings me to another query which I have proposed, viz. what is become of the remains of these ancient vineyards, as vines shoot strongly from the stoul, and are not easily eradicated?

To this Mr. Pegge answers, that they were *undoubtedly* grubbed up *most carefully*, as is done with regard to a hopyard, when it is destroyed.

A HOP however and a vine are very different ; the one being only a plant, and the other a shrub, the roots of which enter very deeply into the ground.

I HAVE no objection however to their being considered as precisely of the same nature ; as in the hedgerows of a hopyard in Berkshire, which was destroyed forty years ago, there is still a very considerable number, which will continue a succession of plants to all eternity, unless carefully pulled out by the roots.

Mr. PEGGE concludes by objecting to a conjecture I have made, that possibly much of the home-made wine mentioned in the old Chronicles might have been a liquor from the juice of currants, and not of grapes.

HE also says, that it is incumbent upon me to give some account of the introduction of this shrub ; which I will most readily do, as it is indigenous in this country. I have found it myself in a wood on the banks of the Ure, about a mile westward of Richmond in Yorkshire. I may refer Mr. Pegge also to Ray's Synopsis Plantarum, p. 456, Art. RIBES.

THOUGH we have therefore had this shrub probably from the time of the creation, I believe it was only called a *Winberry*, till currants (*uvae Corinthiacae*) were imported from the Levant ; the grapes of which being almost precisely of the same size and form with the fruit of the *Ribes vulgaris*, the name of currants was applied to the winberry. When this shrub however was mentioned by a monk who wrote in Latin, it might be termed *vitis*, its fruit *uvae*, and the plantation of it for the purpose of making wine *vineae*. The Latin synonyms of several shrubs and plants, which are by no means so like a vine as the *ribes* is, are equally *vitis*. See Ray's Synopsis, Article VITIS IDAEA, &c.

THIS

THIS interpretation of the word *vinea* in some instances by no means clashes with Sir Robert Atkyns, as Mr. Pegge supposes, because there might be orchards both of apples and currants.

GERARDE therefore, when he is speaking of the *uva Corinthiaca*, is obliged to undeceive his countrymen in the following words ;
 " The plant that beareth those small *raisins*, which are commonly
 " called *corans*, or *currans*, or rather raisins of Corinth, is not
 " that which among the vulgar people is taken for currans, &c.

LEONARD MASCALL published a treatise upon planting and grafting in 1592 ; and the name of *currant* was not then so generally applied to the *ribes vulgaris* as to permit him to call it so ; the title therefore of one of his chapters [n] is, " on gooseberries and small *raisins* ; by which he most clearly means the *ribes vulgaris*, and considers it as a species of the vine.

I HAVE also been informed, that currants to this day are in some parts of France known by the name of *raisins de Mars*.

THE reason why I suppose this shrub to have been called anciently *winberry* is, that the name of *winbar* is still used for it in Norway [o], where the Norwegian terms for raspberries and gooseberries are mentioned, which terminate equally in *bar* ; but the *ribes vulgaris* is stiled *Winbar* *uav' i* *foxen*.

IT should seem also from the lately published translation of Kalm's account of the English provinces in North America, that currant wine continues to be very commonly made in Sweden to this day, though he allows that the liquor from this fruit in North America is preferable even to that of his own country [p].

[n] Leon. Mascall, p. 18.

[o] See Pontoppidan, p. 133. See also the Translation of Mallet's Denmark, vol. I. p. 302, and Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Persarum, p. 540. which indeed Mr. Pegge refers me to, and where it is said, that the *ribes* is stiled, in the north, *wins-fragen*.

[p] Kalm, vol. I. p. 86.

MR. PEGGE indeed says, that Haymo de Hethe presented *was* to Edward the Second in the month of September, which consequently from that circumstance must have been grapes, and not currants: he does not however cite chapter and verse for this, which however is an uncommon instance, as he is generally very accurate in referring to the authorities on which he relies.

TAKING it however to be exactly as stated, I am very ready to answer, that grapes could not be ripe in an English vineyard so early in the season; and that therefore they must have been currants, unless Haymo de Hethe had traiterous designs against the health of his sovereign.

CURRANTS undoubtedly are generally ripe earlier; but I have myself tasted very fine ones in the middle of October last from the tree.

MR. PEGGE indeed is aware of this circumstance: but though he insists that our ancestors cultivated vineyards of grapes which their present posterity always fail in, yet he will not allow them the no very uncommon degree of ingenuity to plant a currant bush in the shade, and to cover it with a net against the birds.

I HAVE thus endeavoured to answer, I believe, every argument or authority which Mr. Pegge insists upon, either in the *Archæologia*, or in his second treatise with regard to vineyards of grapes having been formerly common in England.

I MIGHT now in my turn produce many new arguments and authorities to prove the contrary, and am not unprepared with materials for that purpose.

I FIND however that my answers to Mr. Pegge's objections fill nearly sixty folio pages: I must not therefore trespass further on the indulgence of the Society; especially as I hope to have shewn, that Mr. Pegge's own authorities (when thoroughly examined) prove

prove that no such vineyards could have ever been cultivated in Great Britain.

I SHALL therefore conclude this very long letter by asserting, that in the time of Agricola our climate was not deemed sufficiently warm for this purpose; and that consequently those, who contend we had a more benign temperature in any intermediate period, should be able to prove so extraordinary an opinion by proofs that are absolutely irrefragable.

I am,

DEAR SIR,

Your most faithful

humble Servant,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

XIII. On the Boundary Stone of Croyland Abbey.

By Governor Pownall, M. P. F. R. S.

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, Jan. 20, 1771.



THE annexed plate, copied from Dr. Stukeley, represents the boundary cross of Croyland Abbey. It is a very curious monument, and perhaps a singular instance of any such remaining for eight hundred and twenty-five years in the same state

state and situation ; the record of its being so placed continuing and existing at the same time.

As Dr. Stukeley gives a very short account of it ; and as [a] Mr. Camden's translators are evidently mistaken in the translation which they give of the inscription, I shall subjoin the actual history of it, which will be its best interpreter.

THE monastery of Croyland was founded by King Ethelbald, in the year 716 ; and was dedicated to the honour and memory of St. Guthlac. History informs us, that in the tenth century, in the reign of King Athelstan, this monastery was greatly distressed ; that the then Abbot Godricus was *almost* worn down with infirmities and old age ; that the number of the brethren was reduced from twenty-eight to seven ; and that Athelstan intended to re-establish and restore the monastery to its pristine state and institution ; but he dying, this good purpose failed of its execution. Godric also died the same year 941, and was followed within a month by two of the elder brethren, Swein and Osgot. " Remanseruntque tantum quinque senes, id est, " frater Clarenbaldus, frater Swartingus, frater Thurgarus, " frater Brunus, et frater Aio. Quorum isti duo ultimi, cernentes regem Athelstanum suum patronum, ac abbatem suum " Godricum, in fata cessisse, de monasterii sui relevatione ac spiritualium filiorum successione penitus desperantes, relicto fratrum suorum contubernio, prior monasterium Wyntoniae, fecundus monasterium Malmesburiae adiens, uterque et in eorum

[a] Gibson's Camden, vol. I. p. 551. 2d edit.

This rock, I say, is Guthlac's utmost bound.

Holland's translation is in one instance more faithful than the bishop's.

I say that St. Guthlake,

This *stone* his bound doth make.

“ conventum receptus, et aliquot annis retentus est. Verum tri-
 “ um fratrum in monasterio Croylandiae remanentium sancta tri-
 “ nitas semper in Domino confidebat, quod aliquando, memor mi-
 “ sericordiae suae, mitteret eis aliquem salvatorem, qui tam sanc-
 “ tum locum sanctissimi confessoris sui Guthlaci sacras reliquias
 “ continentem in pristinum statum relevaret, et spiritali sobole
 “ suum sacratissimum monasterium fecundum faceret, ac fratres
 “ suos jam dispersos iterum juxta suum complacitum congru-
 “ garet [δ].”

ABOUT six years after this, Turketul, who was chancellor to King Aedred, undertook the cause, and became the patron, of this monastery; and the year after, that is in 947-8, became a monk, and was made abbot of Croyland. The narrative of this event will explain the nature of this ancient monument. Turketul, who had been chancellor since the time of Athelstan, and was a great lawyer, as was also brother Aio; “ qui jurisperitus (says Ingulph.) “ monumenta monasterii veteris optime noverat,” thought it would be safest, if not absolutely necessary, in order to found and secure the title, that the monks should surrender all the lands to the king, and receive them again by a new grant confirmed in the great national council. In order to this, he recalled brothers Brown and Aio by a mandate of the king to return to their monastery; and having become one of their body, he, even while he was chancellor, together with the rest of his brethren, made a perambulation to ascertain the boundaries. “ Edoctus itaque cancellarius Turketulus de limitibus Croylandiae, et ejus terminis universis, jussit *cruces lapideas terminorum* “ innovari, et longius a ripis fluviorum in proximam solidam terram “ infigi; ne forte lapsu temporis per aquarum alluvionem in flumina corruerent, prout antiquas cruces in iisdem limitibus per-

[δ] Ingulphus, Ed. Gale. p. 26.

“ Kenulphum monasterii primum abbatem ibidem aliquando ap-
 “ positas intellexerat corruisse. In australi namque ripa dictae in-
 “ sulae posuit tunc Turketulus crucem lapideam, quae tunc dis-
 “ tabat a *Southee* per sex perticatas, et in boreali parte dictae in-
 “ sulae tunc posuit *aliam crucem lapideam*, quae tunc distabat ab
 “ *Afendyk*, cadente in *Weeland*, per tres perticatas [c].” This is the
 very cross of which I am now endeavouring to give an account
 [d]. Previous to the surrender made to the king, it was necessary
 not only to ascertain the boundaries, but the persons in whom
 the property was vested. These were the five remaining brothers,
 Clarenbald, Swarting, Thurgar, Brun, and Aio. The inscrip-
 tion therefore of this boundary cross, of which the present is only
 a fragment, contained undoubtedly the names of the five brothers,
 of whom Aio was the last, and whose name remains on the frag-
 ment which is left.

INGULPHUS, in his history, gives us an account of this transac-
 tion ; and the charter granted by Aedred, in 948, recites it.

“ EODEM die regis arbitrio, ac jurisperitorum consilio, ut in
 “ posterum contra iniquorum violentias fortiori consisterent fun-
 “ damento, venerabilis abbas Turketulus prae fractique quinque
 “ senes monachi sui, universum monasterium suum, cum omni-
 “ bus terris ac tenementis bonis et catallis ei pertinentibus, in
 “ manum domini regis funditus et sponte resignabant [e].”

THE charter, which was granted in a great national council, after
 reciting the original foundation, proceeds : “ Sed post multorum
 “ temporum curricula, per Paganorum exercitum erat devasta-
 “ tum, et cum omnibus ornamentis, et monumentis compluri-

[c] Ingulph. p. 39.

[d] It stands between Spalding and Crowland near Brother-house and Cloot-bar
 on the side of the Bank, almost buried under earth. Stukeley, It. Cur. p. 32.

[e] Ingulph. p. 32.

"bus, igne crematum et consumptum. . . . unde *quinque mo-*
 " *nachi senes* in eadem insulâ latitantes, de quibus duo à disper-
 "sione regressi, de cujusdam Turketuli et aliorum jurisperito-
 "rum consilio informati, quasi graviter formidantes jacturas, et
 "dispendia varia, futuris temporibus inopinatè emergentia, prius
 "totam abbatiam cum omnibus possessionibus suis obtentis et
 "ejusdem Turketuli sollicitudine recuperatis, meo etiam favore
 "adquaesitis, cum sex maneriis de praediis suis hereditariis in ma-
 "num meam regiam funditus et sponte resignarunt, ut per meam
 "redonationem de firmiori et liberiori ex tunc et in posterum gra-
 "tulentur possessione [f]." The charter then proceeds to the
 grant, according to the boundaries thus ascertained; "ex boreali
 "parte crucis lapideae per praedictum Turkirulum ibidem affixae,
 "&c." And this cross became from thenceforth the boundary
 referred to in all future instruments.

THIS cross did not only ascertain the bounds of Guthlac's mo-
 nastery, but the possessors at the time of the surrender; the name
 of one of whom, AIO, still remains on it.

[f] Ingulph. p. 33.

XIV. *Remarks on Belatucader. By the Rev. Mr. Pegge.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Dec. 5, 1771.

SOMETHING was said in the Essay on the Coins of Cunobelin, p. 15, on Belatucadrus, a deity either of the Romanized Britons, or of the Romans resident in Britain; and it was there asserted, he was the same with Mars, being esteemed a local name of this deity. Since then, an inscription, accompanied with a memoir, has been produced by my late most respectable friend Bishop Lyttelton [a]; in which paper his Lordship, concurring with the late Professor Ward, reckons him to be a local deity, as do most others, but with a reference to Apollo, who was worshiped, as they observe, by the Druids. And herein they have on their side, Sammes, Selden, Hearne, Montfaucon, and the authors of the Universal History. Notwithstanding the weight of all this authority; I see no reason to depart from my former assertion, and hope I may stand acquitted by the candid, if, in justification thereof, I here resume the further consideration of the subject.

It was said, 'The god of war seems to have had different names in various parts of the Island; amongst the Trinobantes or Catuvellauni to have been called Camulus; by the Brigantes, Belatucadrus; by the Coritani, Braciaca; and perhaps by others Hesus or Efus.' Now all the five inscriptions yet discovered concerning Belatucadrus were found amongst the Brigantes; and

[a] Archæolog. I. p. 308.

the point to be discussed is, whether by this barbarous title was intended a local deity answerable and equivalent to Apollo or the god Mars, as Mr. Baxter, Dr. Gale [b], Mr. Horsley in one place, and myself, have maintained.

THOSE who contend for Apollo, proceed upon the etymology; the application of the word Sanctus, which they think becomes not Mars; and lastly a suspicion, that one of the inscriptions which runs *Deo Marti Belatucadra* is miswritten on the stone, and was intended to be *Deo Marti et Belatucadra*.

THEY think, in the first place, they discover something of Belinus, or Βίλας, the name of Apollo, in the term Belatucadrus; and so Mr. Heanre interprets it of Apollo Sagittarius, on account, I presume, of the * Greek word Βίλας. But surely little stress can be laid on this, since both Mr. Baxter and Dr. Gale have with equal, perhaps greater probability, deduced this name from the British, and have shewn it may be a very proper adjunct to Mars. The first analyses it: *Bel at a cadr*, quod est, *Belus et arcem montis*, and the second writes, * *Posteriorque pars dictionis aliquid spirat istius numinis [Martis scilicet] cum Cadr proelium, cader castrum, et cadr fortis Britannice sonent, quae omnia Marti satis congruunt.*

IN the next place, as to the application of the word Sanctus to Belatucadrus, Mars was a natural divinity with the Britons and Romans; the founder of Rome, as was pretended, descended from him; and as the "*Rex hominum et deorum*" was with them *Juppiter*, so the god of war was stiled *Marspiter*; and if Juppiter had his Flamen Dialis, Mars had his Flamen Martialis. The Britons, those who were Romanized, we may be assured, would adopt the like peculiar veneration for him. Besides, as Mars is so

[b] Gale ad Antonin. p. 34. But it must be confessed, that before, p. 33. he conjectures it to mean a river.

[c] Dr. Schomberg, in his etymological observations, in vol. XV. of the Minutes, p. 56. derives it from the Hebrew *Baal adir*, a man of strength or prowess.

currently

currently styled *Deus*, where is the wonder that the term *Sanctus* should be applied to him? It is apposite to every one of the Pagan Deities, every object of their worship; for the Britons and Romans, no doubt, esteemed their Deities *holy*, whatever we may think of them; and Belatucadrus is expressly styled *Deus* in four of the five inscriptions. But what comes nearer to the point; nobody ever doubted but Camulus was a name of Mars[d]; and yet we have an inscription which runs *Camulo Deo sancto et fortissimo* [e]; which shows plainly, there is not the least impropriety in giving the addition of *sanctus* to Mars, or Belatucadrus, in our stone. But what is still more direct to the purpose, Mr. Horsley, in Cumberland, N° xxxv, has engraved a stone with

DEO SANG M
ARTI &c.

which he reads most properly *Deo Sancto Marti &c.*

It seems, lastly, that nothing can be effected on their side of the question, without a conjecture that a fault has been committed by the stone-cutter, and that the inscription was designed to have been *Deo Marti et Belatucadro*. This indeed is cutting the knot; but is doing at the same time the most palpable violence to the authority and sanctity of the stone. There is nothing more extraordinary in *Deo Marti Belatucadro* than in *Deo Marti Braciace*, as we have it in the Haddon Inscription adduced in Camden, and the Essay on the Coins of Cunobelin, p. 17. or *Marti Camulo*, in Gruter and Montfaucon. Now, upon this footing, viz. the integrity and correctness of the stone, Mars is expressly called Belatucadrus, and this is admirably confirmed by the testimony of Richard of Cirencester, p. 9. ‘Hinc Apollinem, Martem, qui etiam

[d] Montfaucon, Tom. VI. p. 53.

[e] Gruter. Inscript. p. 56. Camden, col. 416.

* *Vitucadrus appellebatur, Jovem, Minervam. . . . venerabantur, eandem fere de his numinibus ac quidem aliae gentes opinionem amplexi.* Infomuch that it seems to me highly absurd to look out for any other Deity in Belatucardus but the God Mars. That he was a local Deity, peculiar in this island to the Brigantes, is not denied; but then we assert him to be equivalent to Mars, and to have been invested with the same powers as that God, and not to have had the least concern with Apollo, or any relation to him, as his Lordship and Professor Ward contend.

N. B. There is a sixth Inscription upon an Altar, lately found at Plumpton, the ancient *Voredas*, or *Petriana*, near Penrith, in Cumberland, in the possession of Captain Dalfon, thus inscribed,
DEO SANCTO BELATUCA ARAM.

XV. Mr. GOUGH, on the DEAE MATRES.

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, Jan. 9, 1772.

AMONG the unknown Gods which seem to have been introduced at Rome, or worshiped in her provinces, and occur in inscriptions in the later periods of her empire, the *Deae Matres* have given no small trouble to Antiquaries.

The first who took notice of them I believe was Spon, who in his *Miscellanea Erudite Antiquitatis*, p. 105, takes them for "*deified women*, who, while living, were thought to have the gift "*of prophecy*:" such as are mentioned by Caesar [a], and Tacitus [b]; and such seem to have been among the Britons at that time [c]. Keyser, in a dissertation on this subject [d], is of the same opinion.

Professor Ward, in Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, p. 201, adds, "*after their death they seem to have been worshiped as a sort of Genii, or tutelar deities of the places where they resided, &c.*" Mr. Horsley observes, that Caesar calls these women *Matres familiae*.

Now it appears to me, that our learned Professor mistook the sense of Tacitus, who says of these women, that though Veleda, in the reign of Vespasian, was for a long time considered as a goddess by many persons [e], yet that the Germans formerly *venerati sunt eas, non adulatione, nec tanquam facerent deas*; which is just the contrary of deification, and implies a veneration between human respect and divine worship. And the former part of the passage refers only to a particular prophetess at a particular period. So that these prophetesses

[a] B. G. I. 40.

[b] De morib. Germ. c. 8.

[c] Tacitus, Ann. xiv. c. 32.

[d] In his *Antiq. Sept.* p. 479.

[e] *Diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam.*

have not the least claim to the rank of *Deae Matres*; nor will Keysser's interpretation of *facere deas*, as if it meant making deities whose divinity the very worshipers doubted of, at all avail.

MENETRIER, in his *Histoire du ville de Lyons*, fol. 1696, p. 128, supposed them Goddesses of Fecundity, or Generation, or the *Parcae* [e] whose name Varro derives à *partu*. Menetrier, to make his etymology uniform, would fetch *Augustae*, a title often given them, *ab augendo*, and supposes the fruits, *paterae*, &c. sometimes put into their hands, to be emblems of their profession. But this is all as trifling [f] as his reading MAT. AVG. in the singular number, and rendering it *la sainte mere*, when by his own rule it should be *la seconde mere*.

CHORIER, in his *Recherches sur les Antiquites de Vienne*, p. 235, seems to have formed the best conjecture about these deities: "that about the time of Pertinax and Severus, a notion prevailed among the Romans, that each province, emperor, or particular person, was under the patronage of certain Nymphs, to whom they gave the name of *Matres*, or, as they, by a barbarous pronunciation, called it, *Matrae*. But these deities having been introduced from the villages retained the names given them by the country people; whence we find in Inscriptions *Matribus Gallaicis* [g], *Dis Matribus*, *Matribus Augustis*, &c. Those supposed to protect the emperor and his house were called *Matres Augustae*, *Meres des Augustes*."

To this opinion of Chorier Dr. Ward seems to incline, in explaining another inscription in Horsley, page 222, Northumb.

[e] This last was also the opinion of Bochart.

[f] It is adopted by the author of *La Religion des Gaulois*, and confuted by Abbé Banier.

[g] This seems corrupted for *Gallaicis*, which occurs on an inscription found in Spain, given by Montfaucon, II. ii. 5. Horsley, p. 275. Banier and Keysser, p. 436, read of *Gallia* in Spain, inhabited anciently by the Gallaici.

XLVIII, XLIX, at least that they were local deities. Thus in an inscription found on the Rhine, the *Matres Faphiæ*, whoever they were, are joined with the *Genius loci* [b].

DR. Gale, in his Commentary on Antoninus's Itinerary, p. 7, 8, treats them as local deities, introduced here from Germany.

THAT they were the deities of barbarous nations is plain, both from the additional names given them, and from the people who dedicated the altars to them [c]. Thus two altars in Horsaey, Scotl. XLIX. p. 205, Northumb. XLII. p. 220, and a third given to them, p. 298 [d], are dedicated by the cohort of the Tungri. It is to these people we are probably indebted for the introduction of these deities among us; the inscriptions to their honour in Germany being found along the banks of the Rhine, which was the northern boundary of their territory. A cohort of them came over before the time of M. Aurelius, and continued here till the latest period of the empire [e].

On the seven inscriptions in Menetrier, three or four are dedicated by foreigners; the others by Romans. All these want the epithet *Deæ*. Three in Horsaey have it [f]. Five in Menetrier have *Augustis*, the other two *Matronis Afsaniis* and *Afsaniabus* (which two epithets are undoubtedly the same), and *Matribus Pannoniarum* and *Dalmatarum* [g]. Perhaps *Matris*, in four of these, is an abbreviation of *Matronis*, the stroke above being overlooked; and then we avoid the imputation of barbarism.

[b] Keyser, p. 435.

[c] See Horsaey, p. 275.

[d] Also in Burton's Antoninus, p. 49. and Gale's Antoninus, p. 7.

[e] See Horsaey, p. 89.

[f] Cumb. LI. Durh. LI. XXVIII.

[g] *Dalmatarum* for *Dalmatarum* occurs in Horsaey, Cumb. LIV, LV.

THE *Campestres* are joined with the *Alatordae* in Horsley [o]. In Spon de Diis Ignotis they accompany the *Sulevar*. In this last mentioned author [p] we have an inscription, *Matris Gerudatibus* [q], found near Gitonne in Spain; also others *Vediantibus*, *Mopatibus*, and *Gabiabus*. The first of these three, found at Nice in Provence, belongs to the *Vediantii*, an Alpine nation; the second at Nimeguen passes the skill even of Keyser to explain; the last is on a stone found near Cologne, and is also given to Juno [r]. Menetrier derives *Aufania* from the German *Offen*, q. d. *Court*; as if they were deities of the emperor's household: Keyser, much more probably, from two northern words, *fan* god, and *ave* a valley. The *Gallaicae* belong to Spain; the *Trivirae* to Triers: the *Vacallinae* to Vachlendorf; the *Brittae* on two stones in Cannigeter de Brittenburgo, p. 21, are, by Dr. Stukeley [s], referred to Britain. *Matronis Rumanebus* in Gruter, p. xci, which Dr. Gale [t] would make to belong to *Rumabo*, a place in Scotland mentioned only by Ravennas, may be a mere transposition of *Romanebis*, or *Rumanebis*, in Gruter, p. xc. which Keyser [u] and Banier assign to Rumanheim, in the dutchy of Juliers.

THESE, and many other instances that might be adduced, at the same time that they prove these *Matres* to be local deities, protectresses of certain towns or villages, demonstrate them to have been objects of devotion to the Gauls and Germans, from whom they passed into Britain; where, on two inscriptions, they are expressly

[o] Scot. xxviii. [p] Gerunda is in Spain, Cellarius I. p. 117. Antonianus places *Gerulata* in Pannonia; perhaps we should read *Gerudata*, or *Geruda*.

[q] Misc. Er. Ant. lxxvi.

[r] Keyser, p. 416, has plainly shewn that *Junones* were the Genii of women.

[s] Hist. of Carauf. I. p. 268.

[t] Comment. in Anton. p. 8.

[u] *Romanebus*, *Rumashabus*, or *Rumaenabus*, N being easily mistaken for H; and many inscriptions in Gruter have been less correctly copied.

styled

styled *Transmarinae* [w]: Keyser, from the authority of *Mairabus* in two inscriptions, which certainly is a mistake for *Matrabus*, if not for *Matribus*, gives them a Celtic or Scandinavian etymology; and thence immediately concludes in favour of the prophetesses. It is somewhat remarkable that of the thirty inscriptions erected to the honour of these deities in different parts of Europe, Britain has the next greatest number to France; where there are fourteen. We have nine, and Germany has six. The *Matronae* are plainly distinguished from the *Matres* on the inscription at Lyons, erected to both by Pompeianus [x].

THE Abbé Banier [y], who inclines a little to the notion of their being deified women, finds the origin of these goddesses in Crete; whence they were brought by Meriones, the companion of Idomeneus at the Trojan war, to Enguia, a city of Sicily, built by his countrymen under Minos. According to Diodorus Siculus [z], who enters more into their history, they were the nymphs that nursed Jupiter, and in return for their good office were translated into the stars that form the Great Bear. He proceeds to relate the great veneration they were held in, and the expensive offerings made at their superb temple. This seems to have been mistaken by Cicero [a] for the temple of *Magna Mater*. In honour of these *Matres* we have two Greek inscriptions, Νῆξ Ματρῶν, and Ἀστὴρ Ματρῶν, καὶ Διοσκουρίαις [b]; whereby it should seem they were

[w] Horfl. Cumb. l. l. p. 274, 298.

[x] Keyser, Antiq. Septent. p. 394. 407.

[y] Mythologic, V. p. 507.

[z] L. iv. p. 194. ed. Weßeling.—The three nymphs, whom Theocritus, xii. 44. introduces Hercules invoking on the loss of Hylas, must be *Asiatic* deities, and seem to be only three names invented by the poet. Banier indeed thinks they were *Deae Matres*.

[a] In Verrem, iv. 44. though Keyser, p. 423, justifies his sentiment.

[b] Spon, Miscell. Er. Ant. p. LXXVIII. Banier, ubi sup. Keyser, 423.

military deities; and hence not improbably the same, or joined with the *Sulevae*, whose name may be derived from *evae*, *spolium*, and so the *Sulevae* and *Campestres*, on an inscription at Rome [c], may mean deities of war and peace.

WESSELIUS indeed is for distinguishing the Cretan and Sicilian Matres from those of the continent. And I must confess myself so far of this opinion, as to believe at least that the Matres were not worshiped on the continent by the Romans till about the time assigned by Chorier.

THE Abbé Banier supposes "these to be rural deities, from the offerings made to them, consisting of fruits and flowers; and on the inscription to the *Sulevae* a hog appears going to be sacrificed, which was the victim of Bacchus and Ceres." The same offerings will suit them considered under the notion of Genii; fruits, flowers, milk, and such simple things, being offered to the Genius of Rome, who has, like those goddesses, the cornucopia and patera for libations.

THE Abbé adds, "that the Gauls, who had a particular veneration for these goddesses, erected to them little chapels, called *Cascelli*, as appears by the ancient Capitularies." Such perhaps was the temple supposed to belong to their images in Northumberland [d], and the three in Menetrier, and that in Keyser [e], which are the niches in which the three figures are seated. Such may have been the vault re-opened at Elenborough, 1769; of which an account [f] was then read to this Society; and in which were actually found three figures like the Deae Matres before existing in England.

[c] Spon de Diis ignotis, p. 59. Quere if the *Sulevae* are the same with the *Alatervae*, who accompany the *Campestres* in an Inscription in Hordley, Scot. xxix.

[d] Hordley, North. XLVIII. p. 224.

[e] P. 294.

[f] Printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. II. p. 58.

[111]

XVI. *Observations in a Tour through South Wales, Shropshire, &c. By Owen Salusbury Brereton, Esq.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Feb. 13, 1772.

MEETING with some few matters of Antiquity, in a journey last summer from Stockton in Shropshire through South Wales, I think it my duty to offer them, such as they are, to the Society.

Bridgenorth, the ancient *Brugge*, was built in the tenth century, by Ethelfleda, widow of Ethelred, earl of Mercia. The castle has been very strong, not only by its walls and bastions, but also by its situation on a rock, very steep on three sides, over the river Severn. It is supposed not to have been completed till the eleventh century, by Roger de Belcine, eldest son to Roger de Montgomery, earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury. It came afterwards to Hugh Mortimer, who, in 1170, held it against Henry the Second; who, with a great force, won it, and razed it to the ground. I suppose it was soon after partly rebuilt; for in 1215, John, son of Ralph de Aubeny, appears to have been governor of Brugge Castle. There are traces of two large wards in it; but the whole, even in Leland's time, was in ruins. The remains of one tower, about seven yards high, hang several feet out of the perpendicular.

In coming to Bridgenorth, a few fields out of the road, near Stockton, is the most noble terrace, perhaps, in Europe, not to be passed over in silence: it is above a mile in length, and stands very high; it is wide enough for six carriages to go a-breast, entirely

tirely open ; on one side it commands the river Severn for some miles, and the stupendous hanging rocks over it, down to Bridgenorth bridge, at the east end, with the many rising mountains on the south side of that river ; on the other side the whole country is open to it to a vast distance, with the Wrekyn, about fifteen miles off, bounding the view at the west end. It is part of the airing pleasure-ground of Sir Thomas Whitmore of Apley.

A few miles north-eastward from hence, I visited the very ancient mansion of one of the oldest families in England, the Gatacres of Gatacre ; the walls of which were very particular, on account of their being built of a dark grey free-stone, coated with a thin greenish vitrified substance about the thickness of a crown-piece, without the least appearance of any joint or cement to unite the several parts of the building, so that it seemed one intire piece : a most effectual preservative against all bad weather. The hall was nearly an exact square, and truly remarkably constructed. At each corner, and in the middle of each side, and in the center, was an immense oak tree, hewed nearly square, and without branches, set with their heads on large stones, laid about a foot deep in the ground, and with their roots uppermost, which roots, with a few rafters, formed a compleat arched roof. The floor was of oak boards three inches thick, not sawed, but plainly chipped. The whole, I hear, is entirely pulled down since I saw it.

AT Ludlow I visited its large castle, which has been a princely residence ; and could not help lamenting its present condition so entirely neglected, as it is with great danger you can enter the upper ward, and with the greatest hazard ascend one stair therein, every floor actually falling.

I ENTERED Brecknockshire at the Hay, which, by the many antiquities found here, appears to have been a Roman town. It is now greatly reduced, and the remains of its castle form at present a private house.

CAERMARTHEN, St. Clare, and Brecknock castles, are so demolished as not to be at this day of any account. The monastery of St. Clare, and the priory of Brecknock, are quite destroyed, though the scite of the latter is worth visiting, on account of its charming position over the river Uske: so also are the remains of Dinevawr castle, in Caermarthenshire, on account of its very bold situation over the River Towy, with the most delightful views one can well imagine. This castle was formerly the residence of the princes of South-Wales, and is perhaps as ancient as any in these parts: it stands in the park of Mr. Rice, the whole of which commands a full view of Durslin-castle, standing on a knoll in the middle of the very beautiful vale of Caermarthen, and also Golden-Grove, the ancient seat of the Vaughans.

CAREW Castle, in Pembrokeshire, is so reduced, as only to afford a few walls to a mansion-house, built in an elegant antique style, with all the outer walls and battlements entire, but not one floor left; it is well situated on one of the arms of Milford-Haven. On another arm stands a very large and noble ruin, Pembroke castle, formerly a royal residence. Under the principal tower, on the water-side, is an immense oven-like cave, hewn out of the solid rock, called Wogan, which had communication with the tower above it.

TENBIGH castle, in the same county, and Manobwr, near it, have very small remains; but the town of Tenbigh has been walled round, and stands nobly on a tongue of very high land, over the sea-beach, and must have been naturally very strong: In its church is a very fine alabaster tomb of one Thomas Wight, 1481, extremely well preserved.

The castles of Lacharn, Llan Stevan, and Kidwelly, have tolerable remains; but especially the last, which shews well, and has been strong.

I VISITED many other castles on my return to England by Caerdiff, most of which, being in ruins, I will but just name: Coity, Ogmore, Kynseg, and St. Donats, near the sea; Penthrline, Blythian, Morlas, Llantrissant, Coch, Caerdiff, and Newport, some miles within land; and also Caerphilly, which is a very large ruin of a most noble castle, undoubtedly built by Edward the First: it has covered an extensive piece of ground, and is placed rather on an eminence, the ground round which could at any time be laid under water; the ornaments of the pilasters in the hall or chapel, mentioned in Camden, are now almost defaced. The mortar is remarkably hard, which saves one of the towers from falling, that has stood many years several feet out of its perpendicular: I cannot help observing, the stones are much smaller than usually were employed for building such places of defence.

A FEW miles higher up the rapid river Taffe, is the very curious bridge of one arch, built by Edwards, excellently well constructed against the sudden violent floods which that river is subject to: it is built on a new plan, which has succeeded so well, that it is highly worthy of being visited and imitated.

ST. DONATS too should be taken notice of, on account of its having been 700 years, and till very lately, in possession of the Stradlings, lineally descended from one of Fits Hamon the Norman's twelve knights, among whom he divided all the fine parts of Glamorganshire next the Severn sea. In the church are some good old monuments and paintings of the family, and in the church-yard an elegant cross, of great antiquity, on a beautiful tall pillar. Under part of the park, on the sea shore, opens St. Donat's cave: it is a very noble one, about 30 yards deep, 20 wide, and 10 high. It appears to have been worked hollow by the sea, which every day flows into it with great force, and almost fills it: within two yards of the top, crosses the cave, runs a stratum

stratum of stone bared by the Waves, which appears exactly as a designed beam, and no bigger; on it a boy, surprized by the tide, once saved his life. In this county I visited the ancient monastery of Margam, whereof are few visible remains, except the chapter-house, which is a fine Gothic circular room, about 30 feet diameter, with twelve beautiful arched windows; the roof is finely constructed, but greatly wants repair. It is supported by an elegant central pillar, and the whole is of very good architecture. Just above is the ruin of a chapel, on the rising mountain; but no other remain of antiquity near it.

ABOUT two miles above this chapel I ascended to the top of Mynnuth Margam, or Margam mountain, to visit the stone, called in Camden, *Maen y Llythurog*, on the very summit of it; the inscription is still very plain, but the shapes and placing of the letters, the division of the words, and the bad Latin, prove it rather a monkish work, than done in the time of the Romans. The cross on the top is cut very deep in the stone, which is extremely hard, but not so regularly squared as exhibited in Camden.

ON the Kynfeg road from hence, stands the other stone mentioned by Camden, but now upright; the words are still very legible; both stones are certainly sepulchral ones: this last serves now as a boundary between Kynfeg and Margam. In this last village stands a well-carved cross on a flat stone, close to the side of a house, with very rude letters, or rather characters, in one quarter; I take it to be the same mentioned by Camden, which stood on Gellionen mountain, in this county, but has since been removed, and probably to this place.

NEAR here is Newton, about a mile from the shore, famed in Camden's time for its well, which is always full when the tide is out, and empty when it is high-water; it is about 18

inches deep when full; the water has something of a brackish taste, and is never quite clean: I was assured by a neighbouring clergyman, that, on digging for other wells in that village, they all prove the same.

EIGHT miles east lies Llantwit, or Llan Iltuti; this has been a large town, though now in decay, and remarkable for having had the first Christian school in the island: at the east end of the church, the famed Howel Dha, the lawgiver, is buried: in the churchyard is a fine cross, carved on a flat stone, in honour of St. Iltutus, with the inscription, as in Gibson's Camden, well preserved. Also close to the west end of the north isle of the church stands the pillar he mentions, which is well carved, and ornamented with beautiful net-work.

ABOUT eight miles eastward is the parish of St. Nicholas, where Mr. Price of Dyffrin lives, in whose grounds are three fine Kistvaens, or Cromlechs; they all consist of four stones of immense size; the cover-stone of the first is full six yards long, and about five broad, and 21 inches thick; the back stone is about five yards broad; it is called Carrig-maen-Llwyth. The second is in the next field, rather less in dimension, and sunk low in the ground, but exactly of the same form. The third is a few fields more eastward, quite perfect, in its ancient form, and full eight feet high; it is called Grael-y-Velin, and sometimes Maes-y-Velyn, from the field it stands in. All three stand on high ground, open to the east, and are in full view of each other. A cover-stone of a fourth stands upright in a field close to the road side, between Bolston and St. Nicholas. In this last parish I saw two Roman Gaers, one behind the church, very easily to be traced, and a second crosses the road some fields off, tolerably perfect. At Bolston there is a third; the Praetorium cum Alis, or General's tent, is extremely perfect at
this

this day: a summer-house built on this spot has a most noble command both of sea and land for many miles.

AT Landaff is the cathedral of that diocese, a very ancient and indifferent one, near the bank of the river Taffe, from whence it takes its name. Two miles lower on the same river is Caerdiff, a large market-town: here are the remains of a large castle, but only a few walls and one tower are left.

**XVII. Observations on some Roman Altars, found in
August 1771, near Graham's Dyke. By Mr.
Gough.**

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Feb. 13, 1772.

THE workmen employed to cut the new canal of communication between the Forth and Clyde, digging in August 1771, near one of the most considerable stations on Graham's Dyke, at Auchindavie, had the good fortune to light on four altars of different sizes, with inscriptions on one side of each, very legible. They had been thrown into a pit with the iron heads of two large sledge hammers, and the shoulders of a bust of the same materials with the altars, viz. of the grit stone of the county. Whether these hammers had belonged to the Proprietor of the altars, or were used to demolish the temple, is uncertain. But as they were all buried together in the same pit and at the same time, they had probably served some purposes about the temple or fort, perhaps for knocking down victims. In the same station was found a gold coin of Trajan, having on one side

IMP. CAES. NERVA. TRAIAN. AVG. GERM.

on the other

P. M. TR. P. COSS. III. P. P.

This coin was purchased for 7 guineas for the capital cabinet of
foreign

THE [illegible] OF [illegible]

THE [illegible] OF [illegible]

THE [illegible] OF [illegible]

THE [illegible] OF [illegible]

THE [illegible] OF [illegible]

THE [illegible] OF [illegible]

THE [illegible] OF [illegible]

THE [illegible] OF [illegible]

THE [illegible] OF [illegible]

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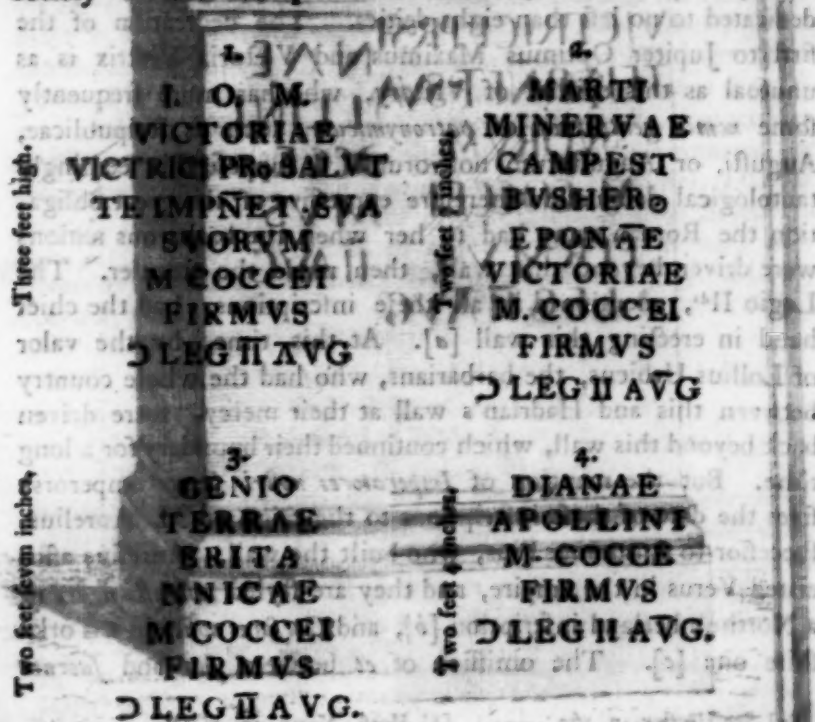






foreign and domestic coins belonging to the Faculty of Advocates of Edinburgh.

The University of Glasgow being possess of all the Roman inscriptions found upon this wall of Antoninus Pius, with many other from different parts of Scotland, these altars and the fragment of the last were procured for them by Mr. Anderson, Professor of Natural Philosophy in that University. In his possession I saw and copied them; and I think myself happy in communicating the first notice and drawings of them to this Society*. The inscriptions are as follow:



* See Pl. VIII.

THE altars are of three different heights, from three feet to two feet seven inches, extremely narrow in the middle; and the base and capitals only fourteen inches square. Only the largest of them has a focus. There is little difference in their form from the generality of Roman altars; but each of them presents us with some peculiarity unknown in the system of Roman inscriptions in Britain. M. Cocceius Firmus is a name entirely new among us; and I apprehend these altars to have been the furniture of his Lararium, or of the public temple of the fort, perhaps erected by him, and which appears to have been dedicated to no less than eight deities. The dedication of the first to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Victoria Victrix is as unusual as this epithet of Victory, who has more frequently some *nomen gentilitium* or *patronymicum*; such as *Reipublicae*, *Augusti*, or *Augustorum nostrorum*. I suppose this seemingly tautological designation therefore expressive of the great obligation the Roman army had to her when the barbarous nations were driven beyond this wall, then made the frontier. The Legio II^a, mentioned in all these inscriptions, had the chief hand in erecting this wall [a]. At this time, by the valor of Lollius Urbicus, the barbarians, who had the whole country between this and Hadrian's wall at their mercy, were driven back beyond this wall, which continued their boundary for a long time. But the mention of *Imperatores nostri* (two emperors) fixes the date of these inscriptions to the reign of M. Aurelius, successor to Antoninus Pius, who built the wall. Aurelius associated Verus in the empire, and they are styled *Augusti nostri* in a Northumberland inscription [b], and *Caesares nostri* in a Yorkshire one [c]. The omission of *et* between *sua* and *suorum*

[a] See Horsley, p. 162.

[b] Horsl. North. ix. a.

[c] Horsl. Yorksh. xiii.

is probably the fault of the stone-cutter. An inscription in Horsley (Northumb. LV.) has *pro salute praefecti & sua*; but none have the *Emperor's* health joined with the dedicator's.

THE second inscription is extremely curious. Mars and Minerva are here united, and styled *Campestres*, a title hitherto confined to inferior deities, and, if I mistake not, intirely to demigods or genii, such as the *Matres*. Keyser, p. 422, cites an inscription from Schotti Observ. Humanae, V. p. 32, *Marti campestri*, which he would correct *Matri campestri*; but our inscription justifies Schottus's transcript.

EPONA, here called a *heroine*, was the goddess of horses; we have her descent from one Fulvius Stellus and his favourite mare in Agesilaus's *Italica*, cited by Plutarch, or the author of the *Parallela minora*, II. p. 312, Ed. Xyland. We learn from Juvenal [a], and Apuleius [b], that her picture or statue was set up in the middle of the ceiling, or over the racks, gorgeously dressed with fresh garlands, as she had favoured her votaries, or her aid was solicited. She is joined with the *Campestres Deae* or *Matres* in an inscription found on the Danube, near *Epinaburgum*, or *Pinaburg* (supposed to take its name from her) thus given by Aventinus, *Annales Boi.* p. 81. Basil, 1615. fol. ap. Keyser, p. 421.

CAMPES ET
EPONAE ALAI
SNTGHPCR QVI ET
AE BASSIANVS
CRRAEF VSLEM. [c]

perhaps to be read (*Matribus*) *Campestribus et Eponae ala sagittariorum* (or *singularii*) *cui praest Quietus Aelius Bassianus* [a] *curavit faciendum, votum solvens lubens merito*; or as it is given in Gruter [c]:

[a] — "Jurat

"Solam Eponam et facies olida ad praesepia picta." Sat. viii. 155.

[b] Refugio pilae mediae quae trabes stabuli sustinebat, in ipso fere meditullio Eponae deae simulachrum insidens aediculae, quod, accuratè corollis roseis, et quidem recentibus fuerat ornatum. Metam. III. p. 3. edit. 1623. See also Vossius de Idolol. I. ix. c. 33. [c] LXIXVII. 6.

[d] Aelius Bassianus was pro-consul of Africa when Clodius Albinus was born. Capitol. vit. Balbini.

[e] There are still greater varieties in a copy by Apian in Gruter: ALA. I. SING. IMP. C. R. QVI. Vol. III. R CAMPES.

CAMPES. ET EPONAE
ALA IST. N. G. HP. CR. QUIET.
AEL. BASSIATUS PRAE.
V. S. L. L. M.

She is joined with Hercules in an inscription in Carinthia, given by Gruter, LXXXVII. from Apian.

HERCVLI ET EPONAE
A V G.
PRO SALVTE IMP. CAES
M. AVR. ANTONINI PII EELICIS
IN VICTI.

SHE stands alone on another at Salsach, of the time of Helio-
gabalus [f]:

DEAE EPONAE MAG.
OPILIVS. RESTIO. MIL.
LEG. XXII. ANTONI
ANAE. P. P. F. IMM V
NIS. COS. CVRA. SA
LIENS. VICO. SALOD.
D. D. XVIII. KAL. SEPTEMB.
IMP. D. N. ANTONINO
AVG. II. ET SACERDO
TE. II. COS.
V. S. L. M.

Her style of *Herois* on our altar is so singular, that I must observe Mr. Professor Anderson is for reading the third line RVSHERO, and giving the Britons a new topical deity of the name of *Rusherus*. But if the general tenor of the inscription was not against this reading, the I inclosed in the O is decisive for reading *Heroi*; and we have the authority of Ovid that *Herois* is synonymous with *Heroina*:

“ ——— veteres heroidas aequas.” Amor. II. iv. 33.

Turnebus [g], and the old scholiast, on Juvenal, defend *Epona* against *Hippena*, of which it is plainly a corruption, etymology certainly favouring the latter. There is a stroke over the O in this inscription, as if a second N was understood. Victory is

[f] Guilielmanus de Reb. Helvetior. III. c. 10. § 2. ap. Cellar. Geog. II. p. 4.
Gruter LXXXVII. 4.

[g] Var. Lect. I. xxiv. c. 4.

joined

joined with the other three deities, as if the success of the Romans here was owing to their cavalry.

A learned member of the church of Exeter, to whom the late Dean communicated this paper, is of opinion "that *Epona* is the true reading; because all the inscriptions agree in it with Apuleius, and in the passage cited from Plutarch and Juvenal, though some editions read *Ιππωναν* and *Hipponam*; others, and MSS. have *Εποναν* and *Eponam*: and Prudentius, Apoth. p. 220, ed. Plantin.

Nemo Cloacinae, aut *Hippo* super astra deabus
Dat solium, &c.

in other editions and MSS. has *Epona*. A passage in Plutarch may confirm this spelling, and account for the epithet *Herois*. At the end of his tract on Love, II. 770. d. 9. speaking of a Gallic lady, wife of Julius Sabinus, ἡ δὲ ἰουλιανὴ πᾶσαν ἀριστην ἡγεμένη, ἢ οὕτως μὲν Ἐμῖνον ἐκαλεῖτο, ἑλληνικῇ δ' αὖ τῇ Ἡρωίδῃ προσεγορεύετο. (Tacitus Hist. iv. c. 67.) calls her *Epponina*; and Xiphilin (p. 210. ed. Steph.) *Peponila*. And that *Epona* was reckoned a divinity of the 2d or 3d class, appears from a curious citation which I borrow from a note of Victor Giselinus on the above line of Prudentius. "Scribit Fulgentius ad Chalcidum. --Vertumnus, Onapum, & deam *stabulorum* inter Semones deos numerari, qui tanquam caelo indigni ob meriti paupertatem caelitus numero nunquam adscripti fuerunt." Also from Prudentius contra Symmach. II. 318.

Quamquam cur Genium Romæ mihi fingitis unum
Cum portis, domibus, thermis, *stabulis* soleatis
Adsignare suos Genios, perque omnia membra
Urbis, perque locos, geniorum millia multa
Fingere, ne propria vacet angulus ullus ab umbra.

After all, unless the reading of the marble at Glasgow be clearly ascertained, one would be tempted to alter half a letter, and suppose that originally instead of *HERO*, it might have been *HERC*, and then the inscription would seem quite cleverly—*Marti, Minervæ, Campestribus, Herculi, Eponæ, Victoriæ, &c.*

I find the following cited from Gruter in Alciat's Epistles, p. 226, and others to the like purpose in Elmenhorst's Min. Felix. p. 260.

HERCULI ET EPONAE
AVG.
PRO SALVTE IMP. CAES.
M. AVR. ANTONINI PII FELICIS
INVICTI."

THUS this learned critic.

THE third altar is dedicated to Diana and Apollo, and is the first instance wherein we meet with the former in Britain; and the only one in which the latter occurs, except the inscription to Apollo Grannus, mentioned by Camden, but now lost.

BUT the fourth altar is perhaps the greatest curiosity, and the most interesting to us. *Genio Romae* and *Romano* and *populi Romani* appear in two inscriptions in Hertsley [b]. We have also *genio loci*, *provinciae* and *praetoris* [i], the genius of the Roman empire, and of particular places and officers of its dominion. But *Genio Terrae Britannicae* is peculiar to this place, and the third instance in which the name of our island is to be found in the many inscriptions preserved among us [k]. Firmus, in the true spirit of his country, endeavours to make all the deities, both of his own and foreign nations, propitious to him; and, after joining the rest together, not excepting Jupiter himself, consecrates one altar intirely to the genius of our isle.

THE lower part of a bust in armour, whether of a deity or soldier uncertain, found with these altars, is with them at Glasgow. Two smaller stones, one inscribed to *Fortune*, the other centurial, found at the same time, are in private hands.

IN the station at Castlecary on the same wall the labourers broke into a vault, where they found a considerable quantity of wheat laid under the floor; the colour black by time and damp, but the substance firm and undecayed. A curious question might here be raised, whether this corn was of British growth, or imported. The present state of agriculture in these parts would seem to determine against its home growth; though nothing but a comparison between the whear of Italy and England could assist in the decision of this question.

[b] Northumberland, cxiii. Cumberland, xlii.

[i] Cumb. lxviii. Chesh. ii. Darb. xv. Insc. Hispell. On the Herculeum paintings, N^o 103, is *Genius injus loci montis*.

[k] See the Chichester inscription, and one found at York, *BRITANNIAE SANCTAE*, recorded in the Society's Minutes, 1740, but not now known of or to be met with at York.

XVIII. *Memoir concerning the Sat-Friars, or Fratres de Poenitentia Jesu Christi, as settled here in England. By the Reverend Mr. Pegge.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Feb. 20, 1772.

ST. Francis of Assise instituted, as we are told by Hospinian, three different classes of Religion. The first, which was the strictest and most perfect order, and of which he himself was a member, was the *Fratres Minores*. The second, consisting of Sisters, was the poor *Clares*; and the third was the *Poenitentes*, or, as they are called by Anthony a Wood, *Poenitentiarii* [a]. These last had their beginning A. D. 1221, when one *Lucius* was the first *Brother*. This account, however, does not at all accord with that which is given by John Bale, on the authority of Thomas Eccleston. He says, the order commenced in *Provence*, A. D. 1245, when the General Council of Lyons was sitting, by means of an expelled Novice [b]; which is very inconsistent with St. Francis's being the founder of it, since he died A. D. 1226. Of these two different accounts of the rise of this Fraternity it may perhaps be no easy matter to determine which is the truest. I incline however to the latter, as Eccleston was a Franciscan, and flourished so soon after the time [c]. Yet one may justly wonder at the Rev. Mr. Tanner, for saying he could find no account of the original of this Order [d]. But be this as it will, the Order was confirmed by Pope Nicholas IV, according to Hospinian, who began to sit A. D. 1288, and died 1299.

[a] Anth. a Wood, Hist. et Antiq. Lib. I. p. 77.

[b] Bale's Append. II. chap. 52. cent. 4.

[c] Eccleston wrote a tract, A. D. 1269. Tanner in Bibliotheca.

[d] Praef. to the Notitia, p. xxiii.

THE Fraternity admitted both of men and women, who yet were not in strictness esteemed *religious*, though they professed a certain religious kind of life; and therefore, as it was not a perfect or complete religion, it was not a true Order. They were permitted to have *property*; and, if they were married persons, to continue in that state; and though, after their admission into the Order, they could not lawfully or regularly marry, yet, should they happen to do so, the marriage was reputed valid. In short, they were deemed ecclesiastical persons; but whether they enjoy the personal and real privileges of clerks and religious persons, authors are not agreed.

The men of this profession were called *Fratres de Poenitentia Jesu Christi*, *Fratres Saccii*, *Sacci*, *Saccini*, *Saccitae*, *Saccati*, *Freres aux Sacs*, *Fraires Ensaques*, *de viridi vallae* [e], *Sacs*, *Sac-Priars*, *de Saccis*, or *de Sacco*; for I cannot approve of the term *de Sacca*, which I find in Stowe and Weever, and from them in bishop Tanner [f]; indeed, to do him justice, this author is more accurate elsewhere [g]. They were also styled *Continentes*, not because they professed absolute chastity, for they lived in wedlock, but only as being obliged to abstain from their wives on certain days of the week. The women, on their part, were termed *Sorores de Poenitentia* [h], and *Sackettes* [i]. As to the Sack, from whence the greater part of these appellations is taken, some say it was borrowed from the Sack-cloth wherewith they were clothed [k]; others, because it was shaped like a sack [l]: others, because the Brethren carried Sacks [m]; and others again, that the sisters were called *de Sacco*, on account of the scapulary made of Sack-cloth, *de sachino panno*, which they wore out of humility [n]. However, the

[e] Walsingham, p. 45.

[f] Tanner, p. 316.

[g] P. 49. 285. alibi.

[h] Newcourt's Repertorium, p. 316.

[i] Weever, p. 146.

[k] Matth. Paris.

[l] Tanner, Praef. ad Notitiam.

[m] Weever.

[n] Raymundus de Capua, apud Du Fresne, v. SACCI.

professors of both sexes together are represented as numerous [a]; and Stowe even pretends they had many good scholars amongst them, a fact which I think may be justly called in question, since they appear to have been only *Fraterculi*, or *Fratricelli*, in any respect. Every house had its Prior [p]; and, A. D. 1307, the Prior of Lynne was Vicar General, or Provincial, of the whole Order in England [q].

THIS order, if we take it even from the earliest of the above dates, A. D. 1221, was but of short duration; for Du Fresne says, it was proscribed by the Council of Lyons, A. D. 1275, and cites Thomas Walsingham [r]; but, notwithstanding this, if we can credit Hospinian, it received a sanction from Nicholas IV, some time after the year 1288, and at the request of Raymund, General of the Order [s]; but quære whether there be not a mistake here, Nicholas IV being put for Innocent IV, who was in the chair A. D. 1245, when, according to Bale, the Order arose, and was first instituted in Provence. However, it was condemned here in England, according both to Bale and Hospinian, A. D. 1307, the first year of King Edward II, and every where by the Council of Vienne, A. D. 1311 [t]. It appears to me, upon a view of these facts, that at first little regard was paid here to the decree of the Council of Lyons, and that the houses of this Order in England were not immediately evacuated upon it. However, they would naturally be upon the decline; and accordingly we find, that, before the year 1307, namely 33 Ed. I, or A. D. 1305, Robert Fitzwalter obtained license from the king, that these Friars at London might assign to him their chapel or church, of old time called the synagogue of the Jews, near adjoining to the then mansion-place of the same Robert,

[a] Polyd. Vergil de Inventione, VII. c. 4. Newcourt.

[p] Tanner, p. 245.

[q] Tanner, p. 364.

[r] Du Fresne, in Gloss. Sacri. Walsingham, p. 45.

[s] Hospinian, p. 427, citing Volaterranus.

[t] Cave in Sac. xiv. p. 60.

which

which was in the place now called Grocers Hall [u.] Whereupon Mr. Newcourt makes the following observation, that this place was first a synagogue, then a friery, then a nobleman's house, then a merchant's house, wherein mayoralties were kept, and at last a tavern. To return; the Order was peremptorily suppressed here A. D. 1307; and I conceive the dissolution of it was principally owing to its imperfection, to the remission therein given for the use of the marriage-state, and their having women amongst them.

HOSPINIAN asserts, and Mr. Newcourt from him, that the order was again approved here, after the year 1307, by Peter de Tewkesbury, general of the Franciscans in England, and was strongly recommended by him in a chapter at London; and for this he vouches John Bale, (Append. II. cap. 82. cent. 4.) who writes from Thomas Eccleston. This, however, is a mistake, arising from a misapprehension of Bale's words; for though Bale testifies, on the evidence of Eccleston, whose history of the Friars minors is now extant in MS. in the library of the church of York, and elsewhere, that the order was suppressed here A. D. 1307, yet he says nothing of the revival of it by Peter de Tewkesbury. His words are these, "Anno Domini 1307, . . . Ordo de Poenitentia Jesu Christi fuit eodem anno interdictus, qui habebat dono regis Anglorum, in urbe Londinensi, synagogam Judaeorum; Thomas Eccleston." And then he proceeds, "Fratres Poenitentiae Jesu Christi, Petrus Tewkesbury minoritarum in Anglia minister, recepit, et in capitulo Londinensi commendavit. Hi ortum habuerunt in Provincia tempore concilii Lugdunensis, per quendam novitium qui fuit expulsus. Idem Thomas." Now, I think it very plain, that the last clause relates not to the reviving of the order again after its condemnation in the year 1307, but to the first arrival and establishment of it in England, A. D. 1257. Peter, we may depend upon it, would never presume to contravene either a decree of a general council at Lyons, A. D. 1275, or the act of a provincial synod in England,

[u] Newcourt, p. 516. Tanner, p. 316.

A. D. 1307. Besides, Peter was old enough to be Provincial, or head of his order here in England, in the time of Innocent IV [x], who died 1254, and therefore could not give his approbation to this order A. D. 1307, as his life could not possibly extend to that date, and afterwards; but he might very consistently recommend it at its first introduction in 1257.

MATTHEW PARIS tells us, the order appeared in London, A. D. 1257. "Et eodem tempore, 1257, novus ordo apparuit Londini, de quibusdam fratribus ignotis et non praevisis, qui quia faccis incedebant induti, *Fratres Saccati* vocabantur;" which agrees very well with both the accounts of the institution of the order given above, as likewise with the time of Peter de Tewkesbury, who probably might be living, and be an encourager of this new order, in the year 1257. They were settled, it seems, at first, without Aldersgate [y]; but Henry III, in the 54th year of his reign [z], gave them licence to remove where they pleased; and in the 56th year, A. D. 1272, the last year of his life, he gave them the Jewish synagogue [a] on the south side of Lothbury (extending to the Old Jewry), where they continued till their dissolution. King Henry was also their founder at Oxford and Cambridge, and probably the patronage of the order had been recommended to his Highness by Peter de Tewkesbury; but this is no more than a conjecture. On this King's death, Queen Eleanor, wife of Edward I, took our friars into her protection, and warranted to the prior and brethren *de Poenitentia Jesu Christi* of London, the said land and building in Colechurch-Street, or the Old Jewry, of the parish of St. Olave in the Jewry, and St. Margaret in Lothbury, by her granted, with consent of Stephen Fulborn, under-warden of the Bridge-house, for 60 marks of silver,

[x] Anth. a Wood, Hist. & Antiq. & p. 75.

[y] Tanner, p. 316, from Stowe.

[z] Weever says, 5th; *male*.

[a] Tanner, from Stowe.

which they had received of the said prior and brethren of *Repentance*, towards the building of the said bridge [b].

These friars had eight houses in England, as Mr. Tanner writes [c]: but there were more; since they were settled at

London,	A. D. 1275.
Cambridge,	1258. Newcourt says, 1257, citing Fuller <i>mal</i> 2.
Cambridge,	1262. Anth. a Wood.
Norwich, about	1266.
Worcester, before	1272.
Newcastle,	1272.
Lynne, before	1277.
Leicester, before	1284, or 12 Ed. I.
Lincoln, and	
Canterbury.	

As to this last place, the Kentish Antiquaries, Somner and Battely, have entirely omitted this house; neither does any mention of it occur in bishop Tanner. However, in a roll of 23 Hen. VII. we read,

“De eisdem civibus de domibus quae fuer. *Fratrum de Saccis*,
 “in *Cantuar.* quas rex recuperavit aut escaet. in dicto itinere.
 “Christi [d].”

THE *Iter* here cited is that of Henry de Staunton, as appears from the preceding article in the roll; and he, as you will find in Somner [e], held *Placitae Coronae* at Canterbury, 6 Edw. II; to wit, upon the death of archbishop Robert Winchelsea, who died A. D. 1313; on which occasion it was usual for the justices itinerant to visit his county, as the king sets forth in his letters upon the demise

[b] Newcourt, from Stowe.

[c] Pref. p. xxiii.

[d] Archiv. Civit. Canterb.

[e] Append. to Antiq. Canterb. p. 4. What Mr. Somner has there printed does not contain the whole proceedings; and it might be worth while to consult the proper office for the particular relating to this house.

of archbishop William Wittlesey, A. D. 1374 [f]. I suppose when the order was dissolved here, A. D. 1307, the brethren left the house, and the justices *in eire* finding it empty, it escheated to the crown in the year 1313, there being no presentments *in eire* till the archbishop's death, which happened that year.

It appears from bishop Tanner, that our kings, after the dissolution of the order, and the escheat of their houses, granted these away for various purposes, to persons and fraternities. That at Canterbury, it seems, was given to the city; but the precise year of the grant is not known, by reason of the deficiency of the city accounts: it was however before 16 Richard II, when the older of the two great books now in the chamber begins; for in the account of that year, the receipt of ten shillings for this house is acknowledged. It stood in St. Peter's parish; and I presume may be known at this day, for in the account of 1 Mary we read,

"It. rec^d. of theyrs of Christopher Cornwall, for ferme of
"a parcell of grounde in the same parische [St. Peter] some-
"tyme parcell of the *salsfeyers* by yere xvi^s." and in the
margin, "*Solde* [g]."

[f] Thorn's Chron. inter X. Scriptores, col. 2148.

[g] Archiv. Civit. Cantuar.

XIX. 'Αλεξυόνων Ἀγών

A Memoir on Cock-fighting; wherein the Antiquity of it, as a Pastime, is examined and stated; some Errors of the Moderns concerning it are corrected; and the Retention of it amongst Christians is absolutely condemned and proscribed. By the Rev. Mr. Pegge.

Read at the SOCIETY OF ANTIQVARIIES, March 12, 19, 1773.

I HAVE often thought it most astonishing, that a mode of diversion so cruel and inhuman as that of cock-fighting should so generally prevail; that not only the ancients, barbarians, Greeks and Romans, should have adopted it, but that a practice so savage and heathenish should be continued by Christians of all sorts, and even pursued in these better and more enlightened times.

AT Athens, indeed, where, as we think, it first obtained a public establishment, there were motives of gratitude, policy, and religion, for perpetuating the custom, as hereafter will appear; but those inducements are all foreign to us: so that here in England, and amongst Christians, it stands upon no other bottom than that of the wantonness of cruelty, or the absurdity of retaining and following an usage disgraceful to human nature.

THE

THE cock and the quail (for quails will fight as readily and freely as cocks) are by nature extremely pugnacious, and no doubt have fought amongst themselves ever since the creation of the world: but the *pitting* of them, as they call it, for the diversion and entertainment of man, or for his instruction, as was sometimes pretended, was, as I take it, a Grecian contrivance and invention. But before I undertake to establish this point, it may be proper to enquire how this affair stood in the regions of barbarism.

THE ancient Greeks and Romans, as is well known, were wont to call all nations in the world, but themselves, *barbarians*; yet certainly, if we consider the many instances of cruelty practised among them, there was very little reason for the distinction. Human sacrifices were common both to them and the barbarians; and with them the exposing of infants, the combats of men with wild beasts, and of men with men in the gladiatorial scenes, were spectacles of delight and festivity. It has been thought, indeed, that the matching of cocks to fight for diversion was an invention of the barbarous nations; but it will prove upon enquiry, at least if I am not mistaken, to be a mode of exhibition and entertainment introduced by those boasters and pretenders to politeness, the Greeks.

JACOBUS PALMERIUS pretends [a] the traces of this diversion may be discovered amongst the barbarians of Asia, as early as the reign of Croesus king of Lydia, A. M. 3426, or 558 years before Christ. Adrastus, son of Midas, king of Phrygia, happened to kill his brother, and fled thereupon to the court of king Croesus, in order to be purified from the murder, according to the custom of those times, and the usage of those countries [b].

[a] Palmerii Exercit. p. 3.

[b] Herodotus in Clio.

The brother's name, according to Ptolemaeus Hephaestion, was Agatho, and the quarrel arose between them at a quail-match [c], as Palmerius represents the sense of this author. Now it is allowed that quails will fight in the same manner as cocks do; this will appear in the sequel of this memoir, as likewise from the numerous authors referred to in the margin [d]. It must be admitted also, that the ancients made use of this fowl with the same intention of amusing themselves, or, if you will, of *instructing* themselves, with their fighting: wherefore I shall not deny, that if the brothers did really differ about a quail-match, it might imply that cock-fighting was also in use at that time. But I doubt this great critic has mistaken the matter, and has generated the quail-match out of his own imagination; for the words of the author are, *καὶ ἀναιρεθῆναι αὐτὸν [Ἀγαθὸν] περὶ ὀφειλῶν φιλονεικίᾳ*, et de Coturnice quidem contendente occubuisse, in which nothing is delivered about the fighting of the quails, but only that the brothers quarreled about one of the fowls [e]. The

[c] Ptolemaeus Hephaestio apud Photium, col. 190.

[d] Lucian. de Gymnas. tom. II. p. 295. Plato in Alcib. priori, for Meidias is there called ὀφισόπορος; on account of his breeding these birds for battle, as will be shewn below. Jul. Pollux, vii. 30. ix. 7. Dalechamp. ad Plin. x. 21. Musonius apud Stob. Serm. 29. The practice of the Romans will be noted hereafter; and Dr. Musgrave says, 'hodieque Neapoli aliisque Italiae urbibus, *servari ad certamina coturnices*, uti olim gladiatores, ex Aldrovando constat.' Musgrave de Geta Britannico, p. 78. Quail-fighting is at this day a common diversion at the entertainment of great persons in China, as likewise in the way of laying bets and gaming. Bell's Travels, p. 303. Partridges also are fighting birds, see Geoponic. lib. xiv. c. 20. Aelian. Hist. Anim. lib. iv. cap. 4, 13, 16. Other fowls also are addicted to pugnacity, but were seldom or never pitted for the purpose of engaging.

[e] Besides, supposing the brothers differed about the performances of their birds, there were other methods of diverting themselves without their fighting, as the ὀφισονομία, for which see below.

conclusion is, that from this fact no evidence arises of quails being pitted for the purpose of amusement so early as this æra, to wit, the reign of king Croesus.

BUT, howsoever matters may go with the critic Palmerius, Pliny informs us, that at Pergamus, a city of Asia, there was yearly a public exhibition of cock-fighting: "Pergami omnibus annis spectaculum gallorum publice editur, ceu gladiatorum [f]." He speaks of a practice in vogue in his own time, without telling us how long it had been followed there, on what occasion it was first begun, or for what end or purpose, whether civil or religious; insomuch that nothing in respect of the antiquity of the custom at Pergamus can be learnt from hence.

THE Dardanii, a people of Troas, had two cocks fighting upon their coins [g]; and as they were neighbours, in a manner, to the Pergameni, cock-fighting was probably a diversion amongst them; but then, as these coins are of a late date, the antiquity of this species of diversion amongst the Dardanians cannot be collected from them. Perhaps it might have been introduced both there, and at Pergamus, from Athens; where, as we shall presently see, the custom was instituted by Themistocles. At least I am doubtful, whether the Pergamenians and Dardanians ought in justice to be called and esteemed barbarians at this time: they were so much hellenized, that the most one can say of them, in this respect, seems to be, that they were *femi-barbarians*.

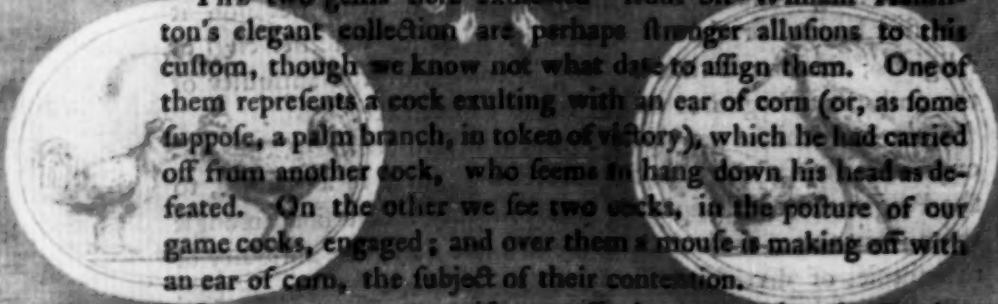
BUT here I shall take leave to mention a very elegant coin in the Pembrochian collection, part II, Tab. 30. whereof the reverse

[f] Nat. Hist. x. c. 21.

[g] Δαρδανίων Getæ nummus, e cimelio regio, I. — Pugnam Gallinaceorum, ἀλευρόων μάχην, locum nummis insculptam Julius Pollux docet, Lib. ix. cap. 6. Harduin. Numm. Antiq. Populorum et Urb. p. 134. See also Sign. Haym. in Tesoro Bret. p. 213, 233. — They had also a single cock. Froelich Notiz. Numism. p. 81.

exhibits

exhibits a cock erect, or in the act of crowing, with a star of eight points behind him, and these letters before him TIANO, I suppose for Τῆανος [b]. The coin is an Asiatic; but the bird has no connexion here with fighting, his *vigilance* being rather denoted; the star representing the sun, to whom, that is, to Apollo [c], this fowl was sacred, as we shall note below; and his crowing being anciently thought by some to be a salutation of the sun at his rising [d].



THE two gems here exhibited * from Sir William Hamilton's elegant collection are perhaps stronger allusions to this custom, though we know not what date to assign them. One of them represents a cock exulting with an ear of corn (or, as some suppose, a palm branch, in token of victory), which he had carried off from another cock, who seems to hang down his head as defeated. On the other we see two cocks, in the posture of our game cocks, engaged; and over them a mouse is making off with an ear of corn, the subject of their contention.

I PROCEED now to verify my assertion concerning the Greeks. At Athens there was an annual festival, with the title of Ἀλεξάνδριον ἀγών, instituted by Themistocles, after the conclusion of the Persian war. There was * a yearly cock-fight at Athens, says Archbishop Potter, in memory of the cocks, from whose crowing Themistocles received an omen of his success against the Persians [f]. This, I presume, may be the first public institution of this entertainment in Greece, and perhaps any where else, though Idomeneus

[b] Vide omnino Harduin numm. antiq. p. 493, seq.

[c] As Aesculapius was a principal deity at Tios, (Harduin, l. c.) and this fowl was also sacred to him, some perhaps may incline to favour him, rather than Apollo. Let the intelligent reader judge.

[d] Vide omnino Columna ad Ennium, p. 308. Pausanias, p. 444.

[f] Potteri Archæolog. I. p. 365. Petiti Leg. Attic. lib. I. Ælian V. H. II. 28.



of Crete, long before his time, bore on his shield the effigies of a cock, as a martial bird [m]. But, surely, it was a preposterous way of expressing his gratitude to these useful creatures, to set them to kill one another; neither was battling a proper or suitable rite for the commemoration of a victory predicted by their crowing. However, as the most learned archbishop represents it, Themistocles took an omen of success from the *crowing* of the cocks; and his Grace again intimates the same, p. 327; and so does Dalechamp on Pliny X. c. 2.; and Alexander ab Alexandro I. 29. But Aelian, the author who is cited for this particular, does not say this; but that when this great general was leading the Athenian army against the Persians, he saw some cocks fighting, attended to them, and, stopping his troops, took from thence an occasion of observing to them, "These animals fight not for the gods of their country, nor for the monuments of their ancestors [n], nor for glory, nor for freedom, nor for their children, but for the sake of victory, and that one may not yield to the other;" and from this topic he inspirited the Athenians [o]. Nothing is here said of the *crowing* of the cocks, or any omen of success drawn from thence: and it must be confessed the reason assigned by Aelian is a much more suitable foundation for the appointment of the anniversary cocking by Themistocles. And so far, abating the barbarity of it, it was a commendable institution, as an act of perpetual gratitude and thankfulness to the benevolent deity that presented him with an occasion for haranguing his soldiers so effectually, as to cause them to engage their enemies in battle with success [p], or at least as a

[m] Pausanias, Eliac. I. p. 44. Edit. Kuhnii.

[n] Or for the indigeneal heroes. See Annot. Kuhnii.

[o] Aelian, Var. Hist. II. c. 28. also Eustathius cited there by Kuhnii:

[p] A further design of Themistocles will be immediately noted.

standing motive and encouragement in his nation. As to the barbarity of his ordinance, as Aelian remarks, cruelty and all manner of debauchery were so generally interwoven with the religious observances and ceremonies of these polite Athenians, that they would be but little shocked and offended with it; however, not more so than the more ignorant barbarians of the opposite coast of Asia, the Pergamenians or Dardanians. I beg leave to add, in respect of the reason, or political design, of the Athenian institution, that Dempster pretends the cocking was a kind of trophy or monument of the victory of the Greeks over the Persians: 'Id a Themistocle institutum, tum maxime cum Persae superati fuerint', ut restaret veluti de devictis trophaeum. Nam avis ista a Perside primum in alias regiones transmissa est, ut narrat Athenaeus, Deipnosophist. lib. xiv. c. 25 [9]. And it is true Athenaeus does say that this fowl came from Persia [1]; and Aristophanes agrees with him [2]: but since in a pitched battle cock must kill cock, and the Persians did not slay or destroy one another, but were vanquished by the Greeks, it is not very easy to imagine how an engagement between some pairs of cocks, though the birds might come originally from Persia, should be any trophy or memorial of the victory obtained by the Athenians over the Persians. The account which Aelian gives of the intention of the theatrical exhibition at Athens is totally different: he says, the design of Themistocles in instituting the festival was, 'that what was an incitement unto valour at that time to the Athenians, he was disposed to perpetuate as an encouragement to the like

* Anno Mundi 3476. Anno ante Christum 480.

[9] Dempsterus ad Rosinum, p. 210.—Dempster's illustration of the reason of this establishment is improper. The cocks did not commemorate the Persians, but the occasion to which the victory over the Persians was owing.

[1] Athenaeus, xiv. 20.

[2] Aristophanes in Avibus.

‘bravery [*t*].’ And this accords with what Solon tells Anacharsis [*u*]. This was a public and noble application of the pugnacity and martial disposition of the animal, as an incitement to valour, with a people, who possibly, and very probably, might have occasion in future to fight for the liberties of their country. An use, how different, how opposite, to the present mode here! when out of meer wantonness and sport, and without the least either moral, religious, or political view, we sacrifice the lives of these poor creatures for the amusement of the hard-hearted and the blood-thirsty, and, as it may now be properly said, for the pleasure of the lowest of the people. But I shall illustrate the above passage of Aelian somewhat farther.

THE cock, on account of his vigilance, was sacred to Apollo [*x*], Mercury [*y*], and Aesculapius [*z*], for the same quality [*a*], in conjunction with his magnanimous and daring spirits, he was appropriated likewise to Mars [*b*]. This was extremely apposite to the purpose and intention of the *Spēctaculum*, or public shew, exhibited by Themistocles, this creature being supposed to be more given to fighting than any other [*c*]. However, the scene of engagement, the *pit* [*d*], to use the modern term, was the theatre; and the sport lasted one day. But others, as well as Themistocles,

[*t*] Τὸ τοῖον γινόμενον αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς αὖ τὸν αἰῶνα, ἐκείνη διαπορεύσει καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα ἔργα ὑπομένειν. Aelian. l. c.

[*u*] The passage will be adduced below.

[*x*] Not. ad Ennium, p. 309. edit. Hesselii. Pausanias, p. 444.

[*y*] Leon. Agostini Gemm. N° 199. Montfaucon, I. p. 180. II. p. 165.

[*z*] Montfaucon, I. p. 180. II. p. 156. See also above.

[*a*] Leon. Agostini, N° 200.

[*b*] Potter's Archæol. I. p. 327. Dempsterus ad Rosin. p. 210. *Αἰὼς Νεωτῆς. Aristophanes.

[*c*] Dempsterus, l. c. Columella terms them *rixosæ aves*.

[*d*] The Etymologicon Magnum calls the pit *παῖς*, and describes it as a square stage.

have taken advantage of the sight of cock-fighting, and from thence have drawn an argument for the incitement and encouragement of military valour. Socrates endeavoured from thence to inspire Iphicrates with courage, as we read in his life: 'Iphicrati quoque duci animos adjecit, cum ostendisset ei gallos gallinaceos tonforis Meidiai (sic Menagius ex Platone legit [e], adversus eos qui erant Calliae, pennis ac rostro dimicantes [f]).' Chrysippus, in his book *de Justitia*, says, 'Our valour is raised by the example of cocks [g];' and Lucian introduces Solon the great Athenian legislator saying to Anacharsis, 'Ecquid sentires, si coturnicum et gallorum gallinaceorum certamina videres apud nos, quibus non mediocre studium impertimus? Videres videlicet, ac potissimum, si intelligeres legis jussu id facere, omnibusque juvenibus, ut intersint, imperatum esse, quo videant aves usque ad extremam animi defectionem pugnantes. At neque hoc est ridiculum, subit enim sensim animos incitatio ad pericula, ne gallis ignaviores, minusque audaces videantur, neve vulnerati, aut fessi, aut alia molestia affecti, deficient [h]. We must suppose Lucian to be here speaking of the institution of Themistocles, for we know of no other public establishment of the kind at Athens, and consequently that quails fought at that festival as well as cocks; and this I presume was the fact; for Meidias above-mentioned, whose cocks were matched with those of Callias, is called by Plato, in the first Alcibiades, 'Ὀψιγυγόνος' [i]. Lucian,

[e] See also Suid. 'Ὀψιγυγόνος, and Kuster. ad eum. Aristoph. in Avibus, ver. 1297.

[f] Diog. Laert. II. § 30. *ἡμιγυγόνος*; *sparring*.

[g] Dalechamp. ad Plin. et Kuhnii ad Aelianum.

[h] Lucianus de Gymnaf. II. p. 295.

[i] So the editions of Plato; but Suidas. and Athenaeus read 'Ὀψιγυγόνος, alluding to another kind of sport to be mentioned below. V. Kuster. ad Suidam. But the reading of the editions is right, as appears from Laertius in the life of Socrates, where Meidias is represented as a breeder of fighting cocks. The passage is cited above.

how-

however, is apparently mistaken as to the original of the festival, by carrying it up as high as Solon's time, if, as Aelian says, it was first ordained by Themistocles. We find Musonius also, in Stobaeus [k], drawing the like matter of instruction from the battling of quails and cocks; and, as is remarked by the excellent Perizonius upon the above passage of Aelian, the young men were obliged to attend the exhibitions of the theatre for the sake of the instruction. See the passage of Lucian above.

It should seem from the conversation of Socrates with Iphicrates abovementioned, that, besides the public shews of the festival, the Athenians would often match a pair of cocks one amongst another, as the barber Meidias appears to have fought a *main* with Callias; but perhaps it may be said, that incident ought to be referred to the public spectacle of the theatre. That, however, cannot be pretended in respect of what follows, concerning the other Greeks [l], who had a great esteem for a good fighting breed, and there often amused themselves, no doubt, with this diversion; so Columella viii. c. 2. speaking of the people of the isle of Delos, says, 'li quoniam procera corpora, et animos ad * *praelia pertinacea* requirebant, praecipue Tanagricum genus et * Rhodium probabant, nec minus Chalcidicum et Medicum, quod * ab imperito vulgo litera mutata Melicum appellatur [m].'. The islanders of Delos, it seems, were great lovers of this sport; and Tanagra [n], a city of Boeotia, the Isle of Rhodes, Chalcis in Euboea, and the country of Media, were famous for their generous and magnanimous race of chicken. The kingdom of Persia was probably included in the last, from whence, as we have already

[k] Serm. 29.

[l] Perhaps the Pergamenians and Dardanians also mentioned above.

[m] See also Plin. x. c. 21.

[n] Concerning the breed of whose cocks, see Lloyd's Dict.

seen, this kind of poultry was first brought to Greece; and if one may judge of the rest from the fowls of Rhodes and Media, the excellency of the broods, at that time, consisted in their weight and largeness (as the fowls of those countries were heavy and bulky), and of the nature of what our sportsmen call *Shakebags*, or *Turn-pokes*. Thus Columella, loco citato, 'Rhodii generis aut 'Medici, *propter gravitatem*, neque patres nimis salaces, nec 'foecundae matres, &c.' Pliny also agrees with Columella, representing Rhodes and Tanagra as places famous for their breed of fighting in his time: 'Jam ex his quidam ad bella [a] tantum, 'et praelia assidua, nascuntur, quibus etiam patrias nobilitarunt, 'Rhodum ac Tanagram [p]. They had a breed of hens at *Alexandria* in Egypt, called *Μαίεσσοι*, which produced the best fighting cocks [q]. The Greeks moreover had some method of preparing the birds for battle by *feeding*, as may be collected from the following words of Columella: 'Nobis nostrum vernaculum ' (in opposition to those Rhodian and Tanagrian birds) maxime 'placet: omisso tamen illo studio Graecorum, qui ferocissimum 'quemque alitem *certaminibus et pugnae praeparabant* [r]." Callias and Meidias, called above *Ἰσχυρότεροι*, we may suppose, were persons of superior skill this way. I interpret the *preparation* of *feeding* rather than *trimming* the birds, because, in the two gems above mentioned, they apparently fight full-feathered.

It should seem then, that at first Cock-fighting was partly a religious, and partly a political institution at Athens; and was

[a] Dalechampius notes here *Ἰσχυρὸς* Hesychius vocat peculiari nomine; but the note seems to be misplac'd, and to belong to the words before *in sublime caudam quousq; falcata erigens*; for the words of Hesychius are, ἰσχυρὰ, ἡ τῷ ἀλκίονος ἰσχυρὰ.

[p] Pliny X. 21.

[q] Geoponic. lib. xiv. c. 7.

[r] Columella, l. c. See also Pollux VII. 30. Menag. ad Laert. II. 3. Musgrave, Get. Brit. p. 78.

there continued for the purpose of improving the seeds of valour in the minds of their youth ; but was afterwards abused and perverted, both here, and in other parts of Greece, to a common pastime and amusement, without any moral, political, or religious intention ; and as it is now followed and practised amongst us.

WE will now enquire how matters were conducted at Rome ; where, as the Romans were prone to imitate the Greeks, we may expect to find them following their example in this mode of diversion, and in the worst way, to wit, without any good or laudable motives ; since, when they took it and brought it to Rome, the Greeks had forgotten every thing that was commendable in it, and had already perverted it to a low and unmeaning sport. Signior Haym thinks the Romans borrowed the pastime from Dardanus in Asia [1] ; but there is little reason for making them go so far for it, when it was so generally followed in Greece, whose customs the Romans were addicted to borrow and imitate. However, I am persuaded, they adopted not this diversion very early ; for though Varro, speaking of the Tanagrian cocks, says ‘*sine dubio sunt pulchri, et ad certandum inter se maxime idonei*’ [2] ; it does not follow from thence, that the Romans caused them to fight for their diversion, but only that the Greeks did ; and methinks it appears from Columella, that the Romans did not use the sport in his time. This author declares, ‘*nobis nostrum vernaculum (genus) maxime placet, omisso tamen illo studio Græcorum, qui ferocissimum quemque alitem certaminibus et pugnae præparabant*’ ; where he plainly styles cock-fighting, a Grecian diversion. He moreover speaks of cocking in terms of ignominy, as an expensive amusement, unbecoming the frugal householder, and as often attended with the ruin of the parties-

[1] Haym, Tesoro Bret. p. 233.

[2] De Re Rust. III. 9.

that

that followed it : The words are remarkable ; nos enim censemus
 ' instituere vectigal industrii patrisfamilias, non rixosarum avium
 ' lanistae, cujus plerumque totum patrimonium pignus aleae,
 ' victor gallinaceus pyctes abstulit [u]. ' Where he describes, as
 we think, the manners, not of the Romans, but of the Greeks,
 who had in his time converted the diversion of cock-fighting into
 a species of gaming, and even to the total ruin of their families, as
 happens but too often amongst us at this day.

To be short ; it appears to me, that the Romans were more
 concerned with quails in the way of fighting, than with cocks.
 Hence Marcus Aurelius l. 6. says, ' I learn from Diognetus, ne
 ' rebus inanibus studium impenderem, . . . ne coturnices ad pug-
 nam alerem, neve rebus istiusmodi animum adjicerem.' So Eusta-
 thius quoted by Kuhnus on Aelian, after speaking of the Ἀλκι-
 βίου Ἀγών at Athens, proceeds thus, ' simile et Romanis factita-
 ' tum per coturnicum commissiones, praecoue indicante certamen
 ' his verbis, PVLLI PVGNANT, et ita spectatores evocante.'
 Kuhnus, after coturnicum, adds, et gallerum, and cites Musonius
 in Stobaeus, p. 367 [w]; where cocks are indeed joined with
 quails ; but Musonius, we are of opinion, is not speaking of the
 Romans, or their practices, but rather of the Greeks ; wherefore
 I cannot approve of this learned man's insertions. The ancients,
 by the way, had other methods of diverting themselves with
 quails, besides their fighting, which they called ὀψιγυγονία. One
 of these modes, as I apprehend, was thus : they placed the quails
 in a circle, and with some instrument were to hit one of them on
 the head ; and, if they could do that, they were to have the pri-
 vilege of catching as many of the remaining and surviving birds
 as they could ; but if they missed their blow, they were to fur-

[u] Columella, l. c.

[w] Stobaeus, p. 202. edit. 1559.

nish a ring for quails for the next main [x]. Others describe other modes [y]; which however I shall not insist on, but shall content myself with observing, that the *ὀψυγασκία*, of whatever kind it was, was a diversion meerly Grecian. It must be acknowledged that, notwithstanding all this about quails, the Romans at last paired cocks, as well as quails, for fighting [z]. For the first cause of contention between the two brothers, Bassianus and Geta, sons of the Emperor Septimius Severus, happened, according to Herodian, in their youth, about the fighting of their quails and cocks; ‘interque se fratres dissidebant, puerili primum certamine edendis coternicum pugnīs, gallinaceorumque confictibus, ac puerorum colluctationibus exorta discordia [a].’ Whence it appears, that at last the Romans began to match cocks, though not till the decline of the empire; and, if the battling between the two princes, Bassianus and Geta, was the first instance of it, probably they had seen and learned it in Greece, whither they had often accompanied the Emperor their father.

It is observable, from the foregoing detail, that cocks and quails, pitted for the purpose of engaging one another *à outrance* or to the last gasp, for diversion, are frequently compared, and with much propriety, to gladiators. Hence Pliny’s expression, *Gallorum ceu Gladiatorum*; and that of Columella, *rixosarum avium lanistae*, *lanista* being the proper term for the master of the gladiators. Consequently one would expect, that when-

[x] Suidas. v. *ὀψυγασκία*. Gataker ad Antonin. I. § 6. Kusterus ad Suidam et ad Aristoph. Aves, vers. 1299. Potterus ad Plutarch. de Aud. Poet. p. 72.

[y] Meursius, de Lud. Graec. in Gronov. Thes. Tom. VII. p. 979. Jul. Pollux, ix. 7. et annotat.

[z] Anthony fought cocks. He says of Cæsar,
His cocks do win the battle still of mine,
When it is all to nought; and his quails ever
Beat mine inhooped at odds——

Shakspeare had it from Plutarch, edit. Xyland. I. 930.

[a] Herodian. III. § 33.

ever the bloody scenes of the amphitheatre were discarded, as they soon were after the Christian religion became the establishment of the empire, the wanton shedding of man's blood in sport, being of too cruel and savage a nature to be patronized and encouraged, or even suffered in an institution so harmless and innocent as the Christian was: one might justly expect, that the *ὀφθρυομαχία*, and the *ἀλευστρομαχία*, would have ceased of course. The fathers of the church are continually inveighing against the spectacles of the *arena*, and upbraiding their adversaries with them. These indeed were more unnatural and shocking than a main of cocks; but this, however, had a tendency towards nourishing the like ferocity and implacability in the breasts and dispositions of men.

BESIDES, this mode of diversion has been in fact the bane and destruction of thousands here, as well as of those *lanistae avium*, cock-feeders, mentioned by Columella, whose patrimonial fortunes were entirely dissipated and consumed by it.

THE cock is not only a most useful animal, but stately in his figure, and magnificent in his plumage. *Imperitant sua generi*, says Pliny, *et regnum*, in quacunque sunt domo, *exercent*. Aristophanes compares him to the king of Persia; authors also take notice of the *‘spectatissimum insigne, ferratum, quod eorum verticem regiae coronae modo exornat [b].’* His tenderness towards his brood is such, that, contrary to the custom of many other males, he will scratch and provide for them with an assiduity almost equal to that of the hen; and his generosity is so great, that, on finding an hoard of meat, he will chuckle the hens together, and, without touching one bit himself, will relinquish the whole of it to them. He was called *the bird war* *ἰζοχήν*, by many of the ancients [c]; he was highly esteemed in some countries [d], and in

[b] Junii Gloss. v. HEN. See Prov. xxx. 31, in the Vulgate.

[c] Eccles. xxi. 4. Menag. ad Laert. II. § 30. Bourdelot ad Heliodor. p. 28.

[d] Kaempfer's Japan, p. 128.

others

others was even held sacred [e]; insomuch that one cannot but regret, that a creature so useful and noble should, by a strange fatality, be so enormously abused by us. It is true, the Ἀλευροφονία, if I may be allowed to coin a word, or the massacre of Shrove-Tuesday, is now in a declining way; and, in a few years, it is to be hoped, will be totally disused; but the cock-pit still continues a reproach to the humanity of Englishmen, and to their religion, the purest, the tenderest, and most compassionate of all others, not even excepting the Brachmaic.

It is unknown to me when the pitched battle first entered England; but it was probably brought hither by the Romans. The bird was here before Caesar's arrival [f]; but no notice of his fighting has occurred to me earlier than the time of William Fitz-Stephen, who wrote the life of Archbishop Becket some time in the reign of King Henry II. William describes the cocking as a sport of schoolboys [g] on Shrove-Tuesday, 'Præterea quod annis die quæ dicitur *Carnilevaria* [h], (ut a puerorum Landoniæ ludis incipiamus, omnes enim pueri fuimus) scholarum singuli pueri suos apportant magistro suo gallos gallinaceos pugnaces, et totum illud antemeridianum datur ludo puerorum vacantium spectare in scholis suorum pugnas gallorum [i]. The theatre, it seems, was the school, and the master was the controller and director of the sport. From this time at least, the diversion, however absurd, and even impious, was continued amongst us; it was followed, though disapproved and prohibited

[e] Hamilton's Voyage, p. 158, 159.

[f] B. G. V. § 2.

[g] It was a boy's sport at Rome. See above.

[h] Shrove-Tuesday. The word does not occur in Spelman or Du Fresne; however, see the latter, v. CARNELEVAMEN; and the former, v. CARNESPRIVUM.

[i] Fitz-Stephen, p. 7. edit. 1754.

39 Edward III [k]; also in the reign of Henry VIII [/]; and A. D. 1569 [m]. It has been by some, as I remember, called *a royal diversion*; and, as every one knows, the cockpit at Whitehall was erected by a crowned head [n], for the more magnificent celebration of it. There was another pit in Drury Lane, and another in Jewin Street [o]. It was prohibited however by one of Oliver's acts, March 31, 1654 [p]. What aggravates the reproach and the disgrace upon us Englishmen, is those species of fighting which are called *the Battle-royal*, and *the Welsh-main*, known no where in the world, as I think, but here; neither in

[k] Maitland's History of London, p. 101. Stowe's Survey of London, B. I. p. 302, edit. 1754.

[/] Maitland, p. 933. 1343.

[m] Maitland, p. 260.

[n] King Henry VIII. Maitland, p. 1343. James I. was remarkably fond of cock-fighting; and Monf. de la Boderie, who was ambassador from Henry IV to this king, says, that he constantly amused himself with it twice a week. See his Letters, Vol. I. p. 56.

The following is a copy of a petition to that prince, transcribed from an old MS. the name of the petitioner omitted. Communicated by the Rev. Mr. Watson, minister of Stockport in Cheshire. See Minutes S. A. L. 23 Nov. 1775.

"To his Majestie King James.

"The God of grace, peace, and plentie, give happie blessings to your royall majestie. I humbly beseech your most excellent majestie, that when youre most gracious disposition shall be pleased to see the sports of cock-fighting, your highnes wolde vouchsafe me youre humblest servaunt to attend your royall greatnes in those pleasing sportes. For well understanding the conditions of those pleasures, I humbly commend the best of my service to your highnes in them. Thus with my dearest dutie tendered at your grace's feete, I pray to God to preserve your majestie, and gyve his gracious blessings to all youre princely and right royal posteritie."

In 1632 a patent issued, appointing Sir Henry Brown cock-master general, *ad officium prefectur. Gallorum pugnantium*; with a salary of 20*l.* per annum. Vid. Minutes S. A. L. vol. IV. p. 125.

[o] Maitland, p. 452. 762. Wood's Athen. Oxon. II. col. 413.

[p] Historia Histrionica.

China

China [g], not in Persia [r], nor in Malacca [s], nor amongst the savage tribes of America [t]. These are scenes so bloody, as almost to be too shocking to relate; and yet, as many may not be acquainted with the horrible nature of them, it may be proper, for the excitement of our aversion and detestation, to describe them in a few words. In the former an unlimited number of fowls are pitted; and when they have slaughtered one another for the diversion, *dii boni*! of the otherwise generous and humane Englishman, the single surviving bird is to be esteemed the victor, and carries away the prize. The Welsh-main consists, we will suppose, of sixteen pair of cocks; of these the sixteen conquerors are pitted a second time; the eight conquerors of these are pitted a third time; the four conquerors the fourth time; and, lastly, the two conquerors of these are pitted a fifth time; so that, incredible barbarity! thirty-one cocks are sure to be most inhumanly murdered for the sport and pleasure, the noise and nonsense, nay, I may say, the profane cursing and swearing, of those who have the effrontery to call themselves, with all these bloody doings, and with all this impiety about them, *Christians*. It is a great doubt with me, whether the sons of men were indulged the use of animal food before the flood [u]; our grant, or charter, in respect of sustenance, seems at that period to have been enlarged. However, of this we may be confident, that, without running into all the extravagance and superstition of the Pythagoreans and Bramins, we have no right, no power or authority, to abuse and torment any of God's creatures, or needlessly to sport with their lives; but, on the contrary, ought to use them with all possible tenderness, modera-

[g] Bell's Travels, p. 303.

[r] Tavernier, p. 151.

[s] Dampier, II. p. 184. Gent. Mag. 1770, p. 564.

[t] Wafer, p. 118.

[u] Compare Gen. i. 29. with Gen. ix. 2, 3, 4.

tion,

tion, and reverence; a doctrine indisputably true, though so totally inconsistent with the outrageous practices we have here been condemning.

To end this long essay: Cock-fighting is an heathenish mode of diversion from the first; and at this day ought certainly to be confined to those barbarous nations above-mentioned, the Chinese, Persians, Malayans, and the still more savage Americans; whose irrational and sanguinary practices ought in no case to be objects of imitation to polite and more civilized Europeans. And yet, to aggravate the matter, and to enhance our shame, our butchers have contrived a method, unknown to the ancients [a], of arming the heels of the birds with steel [x]; a device, which, no doubt, they regard as a most noble improvement in the art; and I must needs say, it is an invention highly worthy of men that take so much delight in blood.

SAMUEL PEGGE.

Whittington, April 5, 1770.

[a] The Asiatics however use spurs that set on each side like a lancet, and which almost immediately decide the battle. Hence they are never permitted by the modern cock-fighters.

[x] Pliny mentions the Spur, and calls it *telum*; but the *Gast* is a mere modern invention; as likewise is the great, and, I suppose, necessary exactness, in matching them. A curious instrument constructed for this last purpose is described by Dr. Plott, in his Nat. Hist. of Staffordshire, p. 387. Thence, however, Cock-spur Street, I presume, may have its name.

The *gast* is older than Suidas, and mentioned by the Scholiast on Aristophanes. *Opus.* Ed. Basil, p. 419, who says it was made of brass, and not improbably older than Aristophanes himself. See *Opus.* v. 760. & 1365 & Suidas, v. *αἰστ* & *πλῆκτρον*.
R. G.

[Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is arranged in several paragraphs.]



**XX. An Inscription in honour of Serapis found at York,
illustrated by Mr. Pegge.**

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, April 2, 1772.

IN August 1770, a stone was found in digging a cellar at York, at a place called the Friar's-Garden, one of the highest parts of the city. The workmen, in their progress, came to the foundation of an old building of Roman brick, the mortar or cement of which was so hard as not to be penetrable by the sharpest tools, the bricks breaking before the mortar. This part of the foundation was a segment of a circle: the remainder of it being under the adjoining house could not be traced out: there is reason, however, to apprehend, that the whole composed a rotunda. In digging the ground a little further, within the segment of the circle abovementioned, the men found a large granite stone, three feet long, two feet one inch broad, and eight inches thick. It was very luckily taken up whole, is now in the possession of our worthy member John Smith, of New-Building, cler. (who has presented the Society with an exact drawing of it, engraved in plate X.) and is thus inscribed,

DEO SANCTO
SERAPI
TEMPLVM A SO
LO FECIT
CL. HIERONY
MIANVS LEG.
LEG. VI VICT.

The

The masonry is very neat, the molding and ornaments elegant, and the letters well cut, each letter being about two inches long. Several Roman coins of Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian, were found at the place, but defaced.

If I may be permitted to offer a few remarks on this curious, perfect, and, I think I may add, very valuable stone, I would observe, that the worship of Serapis had been anciently introduced at Rome [a]; but was brought more into vogue by the emperor Vespasian, of whom, according to Suetonius [b], that deity was the peculiar friend and patron. From Rome his worship, we may suppose, was gradually disseminated into the provinces, and might be brought hither by the sixth legion, in the time of Hadrian, or after: not *before* certainly: and I am persuaded, from the appearance of the diminutive name *Hieronymianus*, not till some time after, as such diminutives were not common till later ages. *Hieronymianus* is indeed an uncommon name in any age; however, as Mr. Smith rightly observes, the name of this legate, as employed in Britain, occurs no where but upon this stone, which is the more estimable on this very account.

It is probable there was no *Serapium* at York, nor any where else in Britain, till the erection of this by Claudius Hieronymianus, and consequently not till the commencement of what may be called the *Lower Empire*. This stone, however, informs us there was such a temple at that time, and at York; a particular not to be learnt from any other authority, and in this respect our inscription is interesting and important.

Serapis here in Britain became at last, and probably before this temple was erected, a deity of equal dignity with Jupiter

[a] Val. Max. lib. i. c. 3.

[b] Vesp. c. 7.

himself;

himself; for in an inedited inscription found at Appleby in Westmoreland, he is actually called Jupiter,

IOVI SERAPI, &c.

whence we may observe, that the Romans, in this island at least, wrote both *Serapi* and *Serapidi* in the dative case, as is clear from both these stones.

THERE is nothing, I think, further remarkable in the inscription, as every one knows the sixth legion was stationed at York, and was styled *Victrix*; unless it may be noted, that when a temple was erected at a station by any legion, it was always repaired and supported by the same legion, as often as occasion required [c]; for which there was this valid reason, in the present case, that this being a fabrick of the *Legatus* himself, it would be considered as the act of the whole legion. Yet it is possible, that as this God was so closely connected with medicine, as is evident, both from *Suetonius* [d], and from *Montfaucon passim*, Hieronymianus might have personally received some extraordinary benefit from him that way, as he thought; and his gratitude might accordingly prompt him to raise this building to his honour: but as this is not hinted in the inscription, the conjecture is too vague and precarious for us to build or rely much upon it, though I thought it not improper just to mention it.

[c] Drake's Eboracum, p. 49.

[d] L. c.

XXI. *Extracts from a MS. dated "apud Eltham, mense Jan. 22 Hen. VIII." Communicated to the Society by Owen Salusbury Brereton, Esq;*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, April 9, 1772.

THIS MS. is entitled, "Articles devised by his royal
"highness [a], with advice of his council, for the esta-
"blishment of good order and reformation of sundry errors
"and misuses in his household and chambers."

CAP. 3. No manner of meat to be admitted, but what shall
be meet and seasonable, and of convenient price.

CAP. 20. Officers of the squillery to see all the vessels, as well
silver as pewter, be kept and saved from stealing [b]. Ashen cups
and leathern pots are added in another part.

CAP. 30. enjoins all his highness's attendants not to steal any
locks or keys, tables, forms, cupboards, or other furniture, out
of noblemen's or gentlemen's houses, where he goes to visit [c].

[a] The title of Majesty was not given to our kings till a reign or two after.

[b] In the earl of Northumberland's household-book, in the beginning
of the year 1500, is a note, that pewter vessels were too costly to be
common.

[c] By inventories of household furniture in the same book, it appears, that
what furniture was left in noblemen's houses consisted only of long tables,
benches (no chairs mentioned), cupboards, and bedsteads: and when noblemen
removed from one house to another, tapestry and arras, bed and kitchen furniture,
cups and canns, chapel furniture, and utensils for the bakery, joiner, smith, and
painter, with all their tools, were constantly removed; and those of the earl of
Northumberland in seventeen carriages.

CAP.

CAP. 31. No officer to be admitted in future, but such as be of good demeanor; and respect to be had that they be personages of good fashion, gesture, countenance, and stature; so as the king's house, which is requisite to be the mirrour of others, may be furnished with such as are elect, tried, and picked, for the king's honour.

CAP. 34. No herald, minstrel, falconer, or other, shall bring to the court any boy or *rascal*; and by cap. 36, no one is to keep lads, or *rascals*, in court, to do their business for them.

CAP. 37. Master-cooks shall employ such scullions as shall not go about naked, nor lie all night on the ground before the kitchen-fire.

CAP. 41. The Knight-marshal to take good regard, that all such unthrifty and common women as follow the court be banished.

CAP. 43. No dogs to be kept in the court, but only a few spaniels for the ladies.

CAP. 44. Dinner to be at ten, and supper at four [d].

CAP. 55. The king appoints, amongst others, Mr. Norris to be gentleman-waiter (who, by cap. 62. is alone allowed to follow him into his bed-chamber), William Brereton groom of his bed-chamber, and young Weston page of it [e].

CAP. 56. The proper officers are, between six and seven o'clock every morning, to make the fire in, and *draw* his highness's privy-chamber.

[d] It appears by a household establishment of lord Fairfax's, about 1650, added to the earl of Northumberland's household book, that eleven was then become the hour for dining. Towards the end of the last century, the hour was twelve, and so remained at the universities till within these twenty years: but from the beginning of this century, in London, it has gradually grown later to the present times, when five is the polite hour at noblemens houses.

[e] Those three gentlemen were cruelly executed some years after, to justify the king's divorce.

CAP. 63. Officers of his privy-chamber shall be loving together, keeping secret every thing said or done; leaving hearkening or inquiring where the king is or goes, be it early or late, without grudging, mumbling, or talking of the king's pastime, late or early going to bed, or any other matter.

CAP. 64. The six Gentlemen-ushers shall have a vigilant and reverend respect and eye to his Grace; so that by his look or countenance they may know what he lacketh, or what is his pleasure to be had or done.

PAGE 24. There is an order, by which the king's barber is expressly enjoined to be cleanly, and by no means to frequent the company of idle persons, and misguided women, for fear of danger to the king's most royal person.

DITTO. Accounts are to be taken of all fuel, wine, beer, ale, bread, and wax-lights, spent in his privy-chambers, returning to the chaundry all the remains of mortars, torches, quarries, prickets and fizes [*f*], without embezzling any part thereof.

IN page 42. Bouch of court, exclusive of meat and fish, is declared for every table.

PAGE 52. The messes are settled for his highness's and every table, both on flesh and fish days.

PAGE 70. Eighteen minstrels are appointed, at 4*d.* a day each, by their names mostly Italians.

PAGE 74. Rhenish and Malmsy wines are directed, and no other named through the book.

PAGE 75. Coal only allowed to the king's, queen's, and lady Mary's chambers.

AMONG incidental payments allowed herein, is a gift to each officer of the kitchen who marries. And also a gift to whoever brings his highness a present.

[*f*] Four different sizes of wax lights; the first is a square, the third a round of wax, with wicks in the middle.

PAGE 80. Appears an account of his highness's horses, as follows. Coursers, young horses, hunting geldings, hobbies, Barbary horses, stallions, geldings, mail, bottles, pack, Besage, robe and stalking horses, in all 86. Moils and moilets 27 [g].

PAGE 85. The queen's maids of honour to have a chet loaf, a manchet, a gallon of ale, and a chine of beef, for their breakfasts.

PAGE 92. Injunction to the brewer, not to put any hops or brimstone into the ale.

PAGE 94. Among fowl for the tables are crocards, winders, runners, grows, and peions, but neither Turkey or Guiney-fowl.

AMONG the fishes is a porpoise; and if it is too big for a horse-load, a further allowance is made for it to the Purveyor.

PAGE 100. Twenty-four loaves of bread a day are allowed for his highness's greyhounds.

PAGE 105. Whenever his highness changes his residence, every wine cask is to be left filled up [b].

THE MS. ends with several proclamations.

ONE is to take up and punish strong and mighty beggars, rascals, vagabonds, and masterless folk, who hang about the court.

[g] In the earl of Northumberland's household-book it appears, that six large trotting horses were allowed for the charat, a sort of covered waggon (for the modern chariots did not appear till the next century), and one great trotting horse for lord Percy.

[b] By the above MS. only Rhenish and sweet wines are ordered to be bought; probably the French wines from Bourdeaux and Gascony were sent over of course. By the earl's book, the wines then used appear to be a red, a pale red, white, a Vin de Greave; but all from Bourdeaux or Gascony, except the sweet wines.

ANOTHER,

ANOTHER, that no one presume to hunt or hawk within four miles of any of the king's houses.

ANOTHER, to order all such nobles and gentlemen as repaired to the parliament, immediately to depart into their several counties, on pain of his high displeasure, and to be further punished, as to him or his highness's council shall be thought convenient.

* In the Antiquarian Repertory, vol. III. p. 178—184, are printed

"The statutes of *Eltham*, &c. made by Henry VIII. for the government of his privy chamber: also of Edward VI. and queen Marye; together with the oathe administered by Sir Drue Drurye, first gent. usher to the privy chamber of queene Elizabeth."

"The statutes and ordinances of our late soveraigne kinge of famous memorye Henrye VIII. for the orderinge and governing of his majesty's privy chamber, made at *Eltham* in the 17th year of his moste prosperous raigne."

R. G.

XXII. *Observations on the Parthian Epochas found on a Coin in the Imperial Cabinet at Vienna published by Father Erasmus Froelich, in his Elementa Numismatica, Tab. XIV. n. 6. By John Reinhold Forster, F. R. and A. S.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, May 21, 1772.

SEVERAL learned Antiquaries have attempted to ascertain the beginning of the Parthian Epocha, which so often occurs on the Parthian coins of a later date. The empire of the Arsacidae extended from the Indus to the Euphrates, and from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulph and the Indian Ocean; and their power often gave umbrage to the Romans, though sovereigns of all the known and civilized part of our globe. Their coins had a currency in a great part of Asia; and, as they frequently had Greek inscriptions, sometimes with epochas, it has been a subject of enquiry among the most skilful Antiquaries to explain these coins, and ascertain the Parthian Epocha. Vaillant, Longuerue, Bayer, Froelich, Pellerin, and Swinton, have, among others, applied themselves to this inquiry. As they have exhausted their extensive reading and learning in support of their respective opinions on this subject, it cannot be expected that any thing curious or new should be said by a later writer. All therefore that I can promise in this memoir, is a new argument in support of the opinion that the Epocha of the Arsacidae began in the year 256, before the Christian Epocha, or in the 498th year after the foundation of Rome.

If it were usual with learned men, to admit the authority of great names in support of a disputed point of history, none could come better supported than this opinion. The names of Usher, Spanheim, Petau, Noris, Vaillant, Longuerue and Froelich, are so respectable, on the list of Numismatic Antiquaries, that this would alone decide the point. But since historical arguments of good authority can alone be decisive in chronological points, it will be worth our while to examine them: because M. de Valois thinks there were two Epochas in use among the Parthians, and Bayer labours to prove there were three.

THE abridgement of *Trogus Pompeius*' History, commonly known by the name of *Justin's History* [a], says, (Parthi) a Nicatore Seleuco, ac mox ab Antiocho et successoribus ejus possedit: a cuius prunepote Seleuco primum defectere, primo Punico bello, L. Manlio Vulsone, M. Attilio Regulo, consulibus.

THESE consuls certainly were the magistrates of the year 256 before Christ, and the 498th of Rome. Several learned men however have been misled by the name of King Seleucus, who came nine years later to the throne in the year 247 before Christ, and the 507th of Rome. Eusebius, the father of chronology, Syncellus, and the author of the *Isopur* *Εὐαγγερίῃ*, (printed at the end of Scaliger's edition of Eusebius, which, according to the very probable opinion of Dodwell and Bayer, contains the fragments of the work on the Olympiads, as collected by Eratosthenes, Phlegon, and Julius Africanus) agree in placing the beginning of the Parthian Epoch in the first year of the 133d Olympiad, 248 years before Christ, and the 506th year of Rome. Syncellus has in his list of Syrian Kings an Antiochus Callinicus, surnamed, also

[a] L. XII. c. 4.

Seleucus, and supposes him to have reigned 21 years; and that under him the Parthians shook off the yoke of the Seleucidae.

THE origin of this error may be easily traced. Eusebius, I suppose, found in some historians the beginning of the Parthian empire placed in the consulship of Manlius and Attilius Regulus, and under Antiochus Theos. In another author he might read that the Parthians gained a signal victory over the Seleucidae, which established their empire in the first year of the 133d Olympiad. This would lead him into a mistake about the consuls; for the same Manlius, and C. (not M.) Attilius Regulus, held the consulship in the year 250 before Christ, and 504 of Rome; and being willing to reconcile these two historical facts, he fixt the first Parthian Epochæ at the 14th year of Antiochus Theos, instead of fixing it to the 6th year of his reign. It is however a certain fact that the first revolt of the Parthians happened under Antiochus Theos; for this is confirmed by the authority of Arrian's *Parthica*, as cited by Photius.

THE other Parthian Epochas, mentioned by de Valois and Bayer, have very little or no foundation at all; the one being taken from a passage in *Suidas*, or rather *Agathias*, which is misinterpreted; and the other is only founded on the testimony of *Emirkbond*, as quoted by *Pedro Texirra*, and can have no authority with us, because it is from a very late writer, who could not be evidence in an event that happened so many centuries before his time. We are therefore reduced to the single testimony of Justin for fixing the Epochæ of the Arsacidae to the year 256 before Christ, and the 498th year of Rome.

ARRIAN, Justin, and Stephanus Byzantinus, agree in ascribing to the Parthians a Scythian origin. Their name is said to signify *exiled men*. The situation of their country, the simplicity and roughness of their manners, their skill in the use of the

bow, and their constant connexions with the Scythians to the east of the Caspian sea, make it highly probable, that they were descended of some of the numerous Hunic tribes that spread themselves over the great desert east of the lake Aral.

THEY had taken possession of a country to the south east corner of the Caspian. Here, being connected with the Persians, and under their protection, they gradually adopted their dress, language, and part of their manners, always retaining in each some genuine mark of their Scythian descent.

THE royal family of Parthia seems to have had a distinct origin from the rest of the nation. Arrian gives the name of Arsacidae to the two brothers, Arsaces and Teridates, who were the founders of the Parthic empire. Syncellus, p. 284, expressly says, *they were descended from Artaxerxes, king of Persia*; and though he is a later writer, he quotes Arrian, who, we know, wrote with great accuracy the history of the Parthians. Strabo, it is true, seems to intimate, that the origin of Arsaces was uncertain; some believed him to be born among the *Dahae Parnae*; some said he was a Bactrian; and he himself calls him a Scythian. This variety of opinions, no doubt, made Justin say, *that the descent of Arsaces was as uncertain, as his courage was known* [a]. It appears however well from the above assertion of Arrian and Syncellus, that these Parthian kings were believed to be descended from the former Persian monarchs; and the affectation of calling themselves *Arsacides*, after Artaxerxes Mnemon, of Abiltaka, who was called *Arsakas*, before he succeeded his father Darius [b], confirms this opinion still more.

[a] xli. c. 4.

[b] Ctesias ap. Phot. & Plut. in Artaxerxe.

A SILVER medal here exhibited, preserved in the cabinet of the emperor at Vienna, and first published by father Erasmus Froelich, in his *Elementa Numismatica*, Tab. xiv. n. 6. proves not only this in an incontestable manner; but it confirms at the same time the Parthian Epochæ, as mentioned by Justin.



This medal has on one side the head of a king encircled with a diadem, and ear-rings in his ears. The reverse represents the same king sitting, and a female figure holding in her left hand a scepter, and giving him a palm branch, the emblem of victory. The inscription runs thus; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΑ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤ. ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟ. Between the heads of the king and the female figure, are the following numeric Greek characters, ΕΑΡ, which, no doubt, signify 137; and under the left hand of the female figure, directly under the name of ΑΡΣΑΚΑΣ, appear the characters ςΠΣ, signifying 286.

THE Parthian silver coins have commonly the Parthian Epochæ in the same place where the characters ΕΑΡ are expressed, which makes me believe they are intended for the common Parthian Epochæ. Father Froelich confesses the characters ςΠΣ express some epochæ or other, but he knows not which it is. The place where the other Epochæ is put, exactly

under the name of Arfakas, raised in me some suspicion, that perhaps the years must be referred to the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, from whom the Parthian kings are said to be descended; and after consulting the accurate chronological tables of Father Petau, I found that 286 is just 149 years anterior to 137. Supposing then these 137 to be the common Parthian Epoch, which began 256 before Christ, the 498th year of Rome, 149 years before that Epoch, we are at the year 405 before Christ, and the 349th of Rome, when Artaxerxes Mnemon really began to reign. This could not be accidental; and it confirms the conjecture, that, by putting the years of this Epoch under the name of Arfakas, they hinted, that the Epoch begins with the first year of Artaxerxes, who bore the name of Arfaces, and was the ancestor of the Parthian kings.

THE medal before us was therefore struck in the 8th year of King Mithridates II, the Great, the son of Artabanus the second. Perhaps after he had conquered the Armenian king Artadistes, and got Tigranes, the father of Tigranes the Great, as an hostage, this medal commemorates his victory by the name of *Arfakas*, which signifies, in the Persian language, the *glory of war*, and is therefore a name of good omen to the Parthian kings, and purposely chosen to be their general surname.

THESE few observations not only shew why all the Parthian kings affected to bear the name of *Arfakas*; but they likewise, by a new and powerful argument, confirm the common opinion, that the Parthian Aera, on the medals of the Parthian kings, began in the year 256 before Christ, and the 498th of Rome.

XXIII. *A Dissertation on a singular Coin of Nerva, in a Letter to Matthew Duane, Esquire, from the Reverend Mr. Ashby, B. D. Rector of Barrow, c. Suffolk, and F. S. A.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, May 22, 1772.—

Vol. III. p. 165.



S I R,

I Think myself particularly happy in being encouraged to address the following account of a medal to you ; because I apprehend that no other proof will be required of its genuineness, than the being able to say, that it has been left with you for several months, and that you have no doubts about it. It is indeed of the finest preservation, being uniformly covered with a green patine ; was found about six years ago in Mr. Wegg's garden at Colchester [a], and by him given to his neighbour Charles Gray, Esquire,

[a] Though Leland led the way right, yet Mr. Camden, whose learned writings being earlier and more universally known gained him the title of the Father of British Antiquaries, unluckily misled his descendants, as to the site of Camulodunum. It is probable that they have at last got right again.

Dr.

Esquire, Member of Parliament for that ancient Borough, Fellow of the Royal Society, and one of the fifteen elected Trustees of the British Museum; a gentleman, whose love of the antique forms but a small part of his excellent character; who has for many years so happily united the scholar with the man of business, the magistrate, and the senator.

THIS coin of middle bronze seems to have every kind of merit to recommend it; is probably an unique, and unpublished hitherto, as nothing like it occurs in the books that have been turned over in hopes of gaining information; a circumstance indeed that may raise a suspicion; but which may, at the same time, be quieted by supposing that it was coined only in small quantities, to be thrown away at the *Consualia* [b], which could happen only once under this emperor, and that not five months before his death: It is of a well-intentioned emperor, whose reign was less than sixteen months, and consequently his coins few: The type of the reverse is uncommon, and the inscription not only perfectly so, but seemingly contradictory to the relation of historians; or at least recording a fact, which they have omitted. No deity of the higher order appears so seldom on imperial coins struck

Dr. Mason, Woodwardian Professor at Cambridge, who had considered these matters during many years, after repeated journeys through most of the southern parts, taken in order to gain knowledge from actual views, appears, by his Manuscripts now before me, not to have had the least doubt of Colchester being the ancient *Camulodunum*, from its situation, plan, buildings, roads, and coins (to which we may add an inscription to Mercury, found only six or seven years ago). He even wonders, that Malden should ever have been thought of, as it has scarce any pretension, but a small similitude of sound. A single coin or two is mentioned as found there; whilst Mr. Gray is possessed of, I had almost said, a load of coins found at Colchester during his time. [b] Nerva was declared emperor 18 Sept. 96.

The *Consualia* was celebrated 21 Aug. 97.

The emperor died towards the end of January, 98; in less than a month after entering into his 4th Consulship; which however appears on some of his coins.

at

at Rome as Neptune [c]. I hardly know one with an inscription relating to him before or after the present [d]: which is somewhat surprizing, as no deity is mentioned earlier in their history, or on a more important occasion; and as they must have thought themselves indebted to his advice for their very existence as a nation. The obverse of our coin offers nothing in the

[c] The observation may be extended to monuments of every kind. I believe Abbé Winckelman has said as much with respect to statues in his *Monum. Antich. ined.* I do not recollect a Neptune in the seven volumes of Count Caylus, except tom. vii. pl. xcvi. 3: a sea-horse between his legs; one hand, raised higher than the head, probably held a trident: very beautiful and well preserved; but this was found in *Spain*, in a temple of Hercules, at Cadix, upon a retiring of the sea in 1631. Pl. LXXIII. 4. holding a T, a pickax or mallet, is too rude a figure, to lay any stress on. Neptune appears on an *Etruscan vase*. 2. xix. Nor doth Augustinus Mariottus increase this short list in an essay, where one might expect it, if we may trust to the review of it in *Acta Erudit. Lipsiae*, 1763, p. 311. But add a fine statue found extra portam Ostiensem, non procul a Tiberi. Gruter III. p. 1073. from Boissard. *Antiq. tom. vi.* p. 113.

[d] The coin of Augustus, in Musellius, tab. 111. 2. in Occo, p. 25. has no inscription. Nor is the S. C. on those of Agrippa or Augustus in Occo, p. 25, and of Caligula in Theopolo, p. 399. deserving of much notice on this occasion, as those letters are most likely expressive only of the metal, or particular species of coin, without any reference to the type. On those in Occo for Vespasian, Titus, Hadrian, and Severus, with NEP. NEPT. or NEPTVNO RED. if the last word means REDuci, it may be designed, in the flattery of those ages, for the emperor, as another NEPTVNE RETVRNED; and then the deity is not mentioned. This reading is supported by one of Postumus, in Occo, p. 392. and in Banduri, who has also one with DIANA REDVCI, probably for his wife. In the same sense Fortuna Red. and Manens may mean the emperor; but unless the l or last letter of REDVCI is very plainly expressed, which is not likely to be the case in the last coins of this emperor, we should perhaps read REDVCTori; and then indeed the god will be mentioned plainly as the restorer or bringer back safe of the emperor; just as in one of Gallienus he is called CONSERuatori AVGVsti. But the earlier instances are too few and indeterminate, and those of Postumus and Gallienus too late and illiterate, to form any just exception to the position advanced. So few and uninstruſting are the instances where Neptune is at all mentioned in the inscription. Nor do I know that this ambiguity is cleared up by inscriptions. In Graevii *Rom. Antiq. tom. x. Praef.* we have, as on coins, NEPTVNO REDVC. SACRVM, &c.

head or inscription but what is perfectly agreeable to the usual appearance. See several in Pedrusi, tom. VI. pl. xxviii.

ON the reverse is Neptune quite naked, except a fillet round his head, as on several other coins, and in statues [e]: the figure turns to the left hand, in which he holds his trident upright, his right arm only a little raised from his body; and the whole is very plain, except the something which lies on the ground under the deity's right hand, near the beginning of the Legend, which is probably an antique anchor, without the cross-bar of wood, and perhaps some other small matter, which may not be very material. In Montfaucon, I. tab. xxix. 5. is an urn with two handles, and near a dozen such little appendages appear in different coins, &c.

THE meaning of the Legend may be more deserving our attention; NEPTVNO CIRCENS. CONSTITVT. S. C. the last of the two final letters out of proportion big. This may be read and explained with some probability three or four ways.

1. In one and the same sense, but with a variation of case, according as we chuse to read the nominative, accusative, or ablative absolute; *Neptuno Circenses constituti*, or *constitutos*, or *Circensibus constitutis*. Instances similar to the first are, *Rex Quadis datus. Urbs restituta*. To the second, *Urbem restitutam*. v. Numophylac. Christianae. tab. v. To the third, *Signis receptis. Civitatibus Asiae restitutis*. That Neptune was fond of horses, however seemingly foreign to his element; and was considered as the patron of [f] chariot-races in

[e] Hence I should guess, that the Athenian coins in Gessner, II. 35. 36, which exhibit Neptune full clothed in a flowing vest, were more than doubtful. Even the Romans we see represented him naked, though contrary to their usual mode; and certainly *Graeca res est nihil velare*. See notes [a] and [dd].

[f] The victories of a single charioteer seem to have been incredibly numerous; see Gruteri Inscrip. II. p. 337, 342. but they run 12, 24, and even 48 matches in a day; Brotier on Tacitus, iv. 274. 2; and one man might win more than once in one day, which hardly happened to the horses; yet their victories amount to 113 and 130. p. 338. 5. which is more than one should have thought Horace meant by

in the Circensian games, is too well known to need proof. Whether it arose from his contest with Pallas for the city of Athens; his success in love with Ceres, or some other nymph, who chose to oblige him under an equestrian disguise; or from whatever other impious or absurd cause, is of little consequence to the present enquiry; but certain it is, the notion was very anciently received by the Greeks; and what confirmed the Romans early in the same persuasion has been already hinted, and will be further considered as we go along. So that the Legend would suit [g] every emperor that went before or succeeded Nerva; and particularly Nero and Domitian; on whose coins however nothing of this sort appears; whereas it seems to be unluckily applied to Nerva, because it disagrees with the testimony of Dion [h]; who tells us expressly, that he lessened the expences, and consequently the magnificence of these chariot games, out of consideration for the magistrates, who were obliged to give them in virtue of their offices; which had occasioned great hardships to those whose birth and merit entitled them to the highest employs in the

by "often." According to M. Delalande's account of Italy, the horses there are still very lucky in this point. M. D'Orville, in his Sicula, produces an inscription in honour of an horse called *Cretus*, V. CCX. and understands it to mean, that he won 210 times; perhaps it may be *Victor*, or *Vicit Circensibus decies*.

[g] Perhaps one should except Augustus. *Alii dictum factumque ejus criminantur; quasi classibus tempestate perditis, exclamaverit, etiam invito Neptune victoriam se adepturum: ac die Circensium proximo solenni pompae simulacrum dei detraxerit.* Sueton. Aug. 16. Yet c. 18, after the victory at Actium, he dedicated a monument on the spot to Neptune and Mars; and Neptune appears on his coins. See before, note [d], and Oeco, p. 25. Caesars de Julien par Spanheim. p. 665, and 666. Nor was Tiberius fond of these sports: but it was owing to covetousness, or rather to his apprehension of danger from such large popular assemblies. Gronovii Marmorea Basis, c. XIII. Sueton. Tiber. c. 34. Brotier in Taciti Annal. XIII. c. 49. 2. VII. c. 17. 2.

[h] Hence probably C. Patin. Imp. Rom. Num. fo. p. 137. *Nerva sustulit speciosa* (would not *pretiosa* be better?) *spectacula*. See next note.

state; as they were forced either to decline them on account of the expence these public shews put them to, or else greatly to injure their private fortunes in exhibiting them. Καὶ πολλὰς μὲν θυσίας, πολλὰς δὲ ἱπποδρομίας, ἀλλὰς τε τινας [i] θίας κατέλυσε, συγέλλων, ὥς οἶόν τε, τὰ δαπανήματα [k].

How necessary this reduction of the [l] expence was, may be judged from M. Oppius's finding it necessary to decline the Aedileship in the year of Rome 714 [m], and from there being no Aediles through poverty the next year, when a namesake of our emperor was consul [n]; and in the year 1726 Augustus furnished several of the senators with money, many of them being so poor, ὥς μὴδ' αὐγορανομήσαι τινα, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀναλωμάτων, ἰδεῖν [o]; and in the year 735, one of the Aediles resigned through poverty [p]. In 758, those, who had been Quæstors and Tribunes, were obliged to determine by drawing lots who should take this office upon them, as none offered themselves for it [q]. The same poverty amongst the great men continued under Claudius, ann. U. C. 799 [r]; and Maecenas advises Augustus not to allow games, consisting of chariot-races only, to be celebrated

[i] For τινὰς perhaps we should read τιμίας, *expensive*. Zonaras, p. 583, Paris, 1686, fol. mentions his suppressing the gladiators chiefly, because that was the most humane action; παρὰ τὰς τῷ Αὐτοκράτορι αἱ μορμαχίαι, καὶ ἡ τῶν θιά, ἀπελυσμένη.

[k] Dion in Nerva, p. 1119. B.

[l] That these expences were excessive is most certain. See Brotier on Tacitus, tom. II. p. 450. Yet I do not know, that any body has told us, wherein the expence of giving chariot-games consisted; whether in hiring the chariots, or the prices given to the drivers, &c. It is remarked of Alcibiades, as a thing of extraordinary extravagance, that he first sent three chariots at one time to the Olympic games. Would not many of our private gentlemen do as much now, if it was the fashion, without any body's wondering at it? The procuring of gladiators and wild beasts from Africa in such amazing profusion, must needs have occasioned large expences: But that is another question. [m] P. 567. [n] P. 581.

[o] P. 697. [p] P. 741. [q] P. 798. [r] See Brotier, Tac. IV. p. 417.

any where but at Rome, partly upon account of the expence [1]. Now it is not at all likely that the very emperor, who is most clearly recorded to have reduced these games, would be the only one celebrated on his coins, for having appointed them to Neptune. Besides, we may question the propriety of the expression, if these games were, from the earliest times of the Romans, sacred to Neptune, and returned regularly every year; which will appear presently to have been the case.

2. SUPPOSE therefore we read NEPTVNO CIRCENS; CONSTITVTÆ, *scilicet* statuâ, such as appears on the coin, and on whose base might be written *Neptuno Circensi*. This

[1] P. 683. Τὰς δὲ ἱπποδρομίας ἀπὸ τῶν γυμνασίων ἀγώνων ἐκλελάσμεναι ἢ ὑγῆσαι δὴν ἄλλῃ τινι πόλει ποιεῖν ἐκέρηται, &c. It has been proposed to read αἶψ instead of ἀπὸ, but unnecessarily. Under the emperors the Romans seem to have been fonder of chariot-races, than the other parts of their games; Maccenas therefore advises Augustus not to allow any city but Rome (where the populace were to be kept in good humour at all events) to give chariot-races without the other usual gymnastic exercises, in order to prevent useless expences, factious riotings in favour of particular charioteers; and that there might be no want of the best horses for the army. All these reasons relate to the chariots; he might have added in favour of the other parts, that they were calculated to form soldiers. It has been said, that a bill was proposed in Queen Elizabeth's time to stop the increase of coaches (though the Queen herself drove only a pair of horses) from an apprehension of not being able to mount the army upon occasion; an apprehension that has been completely confuted, by the incredible increase of both. I will only add, that as a man, when he finds himself at his full strength and vigour, must expect to go off, so nations, when arrived at the highest pitch of riches and power, must not hope to continue at one stay. How rich and strong were the ages of Solomon, Augustus, and Louis XIV. and how soon were they succeeded by times of poverty and weakness!

The Roman emperors, I mean the good ones, endeavoured to do what was properest for the exigencies of the times, according to their respective abilities. Under Augustus the disorder began among private persons: see the excellent Tacitus, Ann. iii. c. 35. and Brotier, tom. II. p. 402; but as the sovereign was rich, he enabled the senators to defray the expence from the exchequer; when both sovereign and subject became equally indigent. Nerva could do no other in the same view than cut off the occasion of the expence.

This good old man sold the imperial plate, to relieve the distresses of the people!

interpretation is sufficiently supported by numberless other medals, whose inscriptions run in the same style, and are usually understood in this sense. Thus on the reverse of a coin of Augustus MART. VLT. a Temple: which nobody doubts was designed to represent the very Temple which that emperor dedicated to the deity under that title, as Dion informs us, l. liii. p. 526. A. U. 734. So on a reverse of Tiberius, CIVITATIBVS ASIAE RESTITVTIS, a sitting statue; the representation doubtless of that which was erected to perpetuate the munificence of the emperor upon a most melancholy occasion; and whose base was dug up at Puteoli in 1693. M. le Beau makes it probable, that all the medals of restitution represent the repair or renewal of some public monument: and not barely the renewal of the particular piece of money [1]. And it is most certain [u], that equestrian statues, trophies, triumphal arches, temples, &c. erected with much cost and skill to the honor of emperors, but long since demolished by time and other accidents, are still preserved on coins, in numberless instances. We are certain from the best [x] authority, that there were statues of Augustus on foot, on horseback, and in chariots: when therefore abundance of each sort appear on his coins, can we doubt whence the moneyers borrowed their designs? The equestrian statue, mentioned by Velleius Paterculus [y], is still seen common on his coins with S. P. Q. R. or POPVLI IVSSV. Appian tells us, under the year 718, that he accepted of a golden statue of himself, on a rostrated column [z], which is confirmed by a Denarius, on whose reverse is, IMP. CAESAR, a statue upon a rostrated column; which Oisellius rightly refers [aa] to the defeat of Sextus Pompeius A. U. C. 718. Mu-

[1] Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscr. xxiv. 232.

[u] See Patin. Numism. Imperat. Roman. p. 217. 5. fol. Ficoroni, de Plumbis Numismat. p. 1, 2.

[x] Marm. Ancy. Chisholl, & Sueton. Pitiscus, p. 1172.

[y] ii. c. 61.

[z] L. xv. p. 1177. ed. 1670, 8vo.

[aa] xciv. 12. p. 474-
sellius

sellius indeed [*b b*] would fix it to the decisive victory at Actium A. U. C. 713; and Occo [*cc*], to make sure, ascribes the single coin to both events, though there was an interval of five years between them. But the historian is a sufficient authority for fixing it to the earlier event: he tells us indeed, that the statue was to represent him just as he appeared when he made his entry into the city; and also gives us the inscription of it, consisting of eight or nine words; all which might be exactly true, though the statue on the coin is naked, only a scarf thrown over one arm [*d d*]; and no more of the inscription appears than what were probably the two first words, which Appian has not thought necessary to report, as his readers could have no doubt about the person meant; not so distant nations, into whose hands the solitary coin might fall, who would require to be told who the person was. And both these variations in representing the original statue was fully justified from the small space on the coin, and the boundless invention of the ancient Roman artists, in executing the self-same design: so that [*e e*] no two of their coins, perfectly alike in all-respects (though many are nearly so) are said to exist. Accordingly the famous monument of Tiberius abovementioned is represented on two or three other coins with very slight variations [*f f*]. Another instance we have in a brass coin CAESARI AVGVSTO. Rev. FOR. RE. EX. SC.

[*b b*] Tab. II. 5.

[*cc*] P. 25. 26.

[*d d*] As this is contrary to the order of the senate, as well as custom of the Roman statuary, we may suppose the moneyer, confined to a small space, chose to represent him as Neptune. See note [*e*].

[*ee*] Blainville, however, mentions seeing two coins of Drusilla, both alike, and both good. Travels, II. 156. But these were probably Greek. Dr. Langwith says, he had two coins of Pansa exactly alike, Observ. on Dr. Arbuthnot. And though I am well aware of the wildness of the contrary assertion, against which I could urge many arguments; yet these and one instance seem insufficient to contradict C. Patin, who had 3000 Denarii of Trajan before him at once, and all different. Historia Numism. p. 142, 143. Amstel. 1683. 2mo. and others; or at least to account for the difficulty, as it actually appears, either one way, or the other. See note [*yy*].

[*ff*] Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscr. xxiv. 152. One however with IMP. VIII. is suspected, p. 154.

an altar [gg]; agreeably to what Dion tells us [bb], that all kinds of honors were voted against his return to the Capital, *ὅτι οὐδὲν προσέτατο, πλὴν Τύχῃ τε ἐπαναγωγῇ [τῇ Ἐπαναγωγῇ] βασιλεὺς ἰδρυθῆναι.* Gruter [ii] exhibits an inscription on the base of a statue found at Praeneste in Latium:

OPI. DIVINAE. ET. FORTVNÆ.
PRIMIGENIAE. SACRVM.
IMP. CAESAR. HELVIL.
PERTINACIS. AVGVSTI.

V. D. D.

T. CAESIVS. T. F. HERODES.

V. S. C.

and observes in a note, that on the reverse of a coin of Pertinax (which appears in Patin, Imper. Rom. Num. fol. p. 270.) *Mulier in cathedra sedet cum hac inscriptione OPI DIVINAE. unde constare videtur Pertinacem statuam Opi vovisse ac dedicasse, Titum vero Caesium hunc votum solvi curasse.* Perhaps all the conclusion we ought to draw is, that after the emperor had signified by his coin, and probably a statue too, which was his favourite deity; good courtiers would set up the same, as objects of their veneration. One cannot however help remarking, that the words of the coin and inscription vary in the same manner, and for the same reason, viz. the plenty of room on the marble, and want of it in the coin; as in Augustus's coin, and the inscription to the statue recorded by Appian. The equestrian statue of M. Aurelius now in the centre of the square before the Capitol, is represented on a medallion of M. Aurelius [kk], and on one of Lucius Verus [ll].

[gg] Oec9, p. 35. Lord Pembroke's Museum III. t. 3.

[bb] P. 740. A. U. C. 735. Chishull, Monum. Ancy. p. 187. says, this was done twice, in the years 729 and 740. Jobert, I. 445. 9.

[ii] xxiv. 4.

[kk] See Erizzo and Keyser's Travels, vol. III. p. 149.

[ll] Addison's Travels, p. 81, ed. 1709.

Mr. Addison thinks that the Romans thus represented most of their public monuments, though the medals are hitherto lost. The statue of Apollo in the court of the Vatican was dug up at Nettuno under P. Julius II. and is the more valuable for being represented on a medal of Antoninus Pius [mm]. Indeed that statuary, painters, engravers, &c. should copy after the admired works of one another, and try to execute, in their own way, what had done credit to artists in another walk, is too natural to want proof; any more than that a good engraver or scraper should now employ himself in representing an admired modern picture.

In the present case, this cheap mark of religious respect, a statue instead of expensive annual games, was as little as could well be done, to obviate a suspicion, that the shews were not reduced from necessary oeconomy, but downright irreligion; and this well-judged kindness of a good emperor to his subjects deserved to be thus indirectly celebrated by the senate, for whose benefit the reform was made, in the single species of money, of which they yet retained the management. The expression *constituta* joined to *statua* will, I suppose, hardly be excepted to, as they frequently appear together, and sometimes with a synonym too, at least in inscriptions. In Gruter's collection are the following to our purpose:

STATVAM CONSTITVI IVSSERVNT, 449. 7.

STATVAM IMP. IVLIANI CONSTITVI IVSSIT 285. 2.

& Maffei Verona, l. 11. p. 362.

STATVAM SVB AERE CONSTITVIT, Gruter. 438. 1.

STATVAM SVB AVRO CONSTITVI LOCARIQVE
IVSSERVNT, 465. 8.

STATVA—CONSTITVI LOCARIQVE IVSSIT. 486. 3.

STATVA STATVTA-EST. 455. 4.

[mm] Keyser, III. 109

The

The following is perhaps the most convincing, as ascertaining itself to be nearly of the times we are considering: Q. EQVATVLO Q. F. EQVO PVB. DON. AB AELIO HADRIANO C. RHODENSES EQVESTREME MARMORE STATVAM PRO AEDE MINERVAE CONSTITVER. Gruter. ccciv. 5. In common language too we have Statuam—statui. Cicero ix. Philippic. c. 7. Statuas—restitui. Sueton. Calig. c. 34. Or we may cut the knot of this difficulty by understanding IMAGINE or SIGNO. To this reading and explanation it may however fairly be objected, that there is full room for the I and A or Q at the end of CIRCENS. and CONSTITVT. to have been added; and that it is probable this would have been done, in order to fix the sense beyond all possibility of doubt. But it is equally certain, that the ancients did not always attend to this particular, so much as it deserves, even when it could have been observed without any inconvenience. Thus in an inscription AD stands for Adjutor [nn]; and on coins one more letter added to CABE would have been decisive in fixing the reading to CABELLIO, which is supposed to be meant [oo]. On coins of Claudius for several years after his accession appears IMP. RECEPT. the praetorian barracks; on others PRAETOR. RECEPT. an officer giving his hand to the emperor in habit of peace. The learned Brotier, in his supplement to Tacitus [pp], reads agreeably to analogy, IMPERATORE RECEPTO. and PRAETORIANIS RECEPTIS. But though the emperor certainly was indebted to their reception of him for life and empire, yet what was his reception of them? So perhaps both coins, joining words and types together, mean only the former, that is, in the language of Suetonius, *Imperator receptus intra vallum*; or he, whose titles are on the obverse, and whose person appears on both sides, *praetorio* or *praetorianis receptus*.

[nn] Gruter, Index. p. xxix.

[oo] Jobert, II. 436.

[pp] Tom. IV. p. 354. n. 2.

On coins of Nero we have in
 Oeco, p. 93. CERTA. QVINQ. ROM. CONST.
 L. Pembroke, 3. 83. CER. QVINQ. ROMAE CON. SC.
 Oisselius, xcix. i. CERTA. QVINQ. ROM. CO. SC.
 Theupolo, 402. CER. QVINQ. ROM. CON.
 Oeco, p. 93. CERTA QVINQVE. ROM. CO. SC.
 Oeco, p. 93. CER. QVINQ. ROMAE CONS. SC.
 Tacit. Brot. p. 163. CER. QVINQ. ROM. CON. SC.
 See Dion. p. 1001. l. xlv. p. 369, 370, 1699. col. 1. ed. 1750, fol.
 Scaliger Emendat. Tempor. 469. says, *In numismatis Neronis legitur, certamen quinquennale institutum*, i. e. *Neronia*, where *Romae* is omitted, and *institutum* quoted as the language of coins, which happens to be that of historians: Suetonius, Nero 12. and Tacitus Annal. xiv. 15. both using *instituit*: a variation hardly worth mentioning, but that *constitut.* is the word on our coin: For the same reason only I add, that Jobert II. 139, 140, explains P. S. S. C. *pecunia sua statuas collocaverunt*; but, if we are right in what has been advanced, it may as well be *constituerunt*. On a very remarkable coin of Hadrian in gold and brass, ANN. MCCCCLXXIIII. NAT. VRB. P. CIRC. CON. the two last words are supposed by some Antiquaries to mean, *Circus conditus* or *Circum condidit*, a fact unmentioned in history, and not very probable; by others *Circenses concessi*, or *constituti*, an expression doubtful at least; and as what P. means is equally uncertain, the sense of the whole must needs be greatly so [99], merely for want of the addition of a few more letters.

THOUGH

[99] Lord Pemb. Mus. p. II. t. xvii. and p. III. t. xxv. Jobert, II. 177. Oeco, p. 174. Even in inscriptions dates are very rare: there is one in Gruter xlii. 2. POST INTERAMNAN CONDITAM, DCCII, and the consuls of Rome; by which it appears to be A. U. C. 784. v. Brotier's Tacitus, l. p. 263. (8). and 332. (3). As this date on the coin makes it perfectly singular, I cannot help mentioning, that Ficoroni de Plumbis, p. 4. gives an imperfect inscription from a block of marble, which looks as if it might be helped from this coin—HADRIANI AVG. COS. II. III. III. CLXXII :: Are we to supply the first defect by another I and A, or ANN, or only, as on the coin, ANN; and from the coin too to add, before the final numerals, where there is no mark of defect, DCC, so as to make both mean the same year,

THOUGH this curious coin of Hadrian deserves as much to be said of it, as that which has employed us so long; I shall only add at present, that had the Romans from the earliest coinage acted thus; the certainty of the date, and the interesting nature of the events recorded, would have given their coins a value much above those of the Thracian Bosphorus; which, notwithstanding their want of every other merit, are still precious on this single account. Had the family coins of Rome been dated with numerals and the consuls names too, we should have had compleater *Fasti Consulares*, than the more expensive precautions the Romans took will ever now procure us, after all the labours of the learned. Above all, how luminous and instructive would the small addition of two or three numeral letters have at once rendered all the *Autonome* coins! With what pleasure should we have contemplated the oldest piece extant; mark'd the progress and declension of the arts; collected the history of the cities that were sometimes free, and sometimes in subjection; material inquiries, which no other monuments can now clear up! It may still be objected, that *CONSTITVT*. in the sense proposed doth not appear on any medal, and is superfluous; that is, the meaning would be as fully expressed without it; and want of room having established the practice of not introducing what may be omitted, we may perhaps be disposed to admit the explanation which reads,

3. *NEPTVNO CIRCENSium CONSTITVTori*, to Neptune, the author, appointer, founder or institutor of the Ciren-

or nearly so. Ficoroni says, that he read *non sine difficultate*; but in his plate all that can be read is as plain as it is here. This proceeding is too common, but very vexatious, as one cannot help wondering where the difficulty was, and as it deprives one of the true use of an engraving; which, if a faithful representation, might give some ingenious person an equal chance with him who saw the original, to remove the difficulty; whereas making every thing plain reduces engraving to common printing. After all, the stroke, or line, strongly terminated at both ends, standing over *N*, and just its breadth, persuades me that no date is here intended, but that it stands for *numera*, the number of the blocks of marble. See similar instances, but for low numbers, in Ficoroni, p. 7. 8. 64. *Mém. de l'Acad. des Insér.* xxiv. 170.

lian games, this statue, &c. as before for the rest of the meaning, and for the same reason. In this sense the emperor T. Aelius Hadrianus is properly called, in an inscription [rr], *Constitutor sacri certaminis Iselastici*, because he founded them. And this reading and meaning seems preferable to either of the former, provided it appears reasonable to suppose, that these games were originally celebrated by the express appointment of Neptune, and returned regularly every year. And it was natural enough for the antients to believe that they were so appointed by him: because Pelops, upon receiving the first chariot from him, immediately celebrated such games at his altar [ss]; or, confining ourselves to the Roman account of their actual institution, we shall arrive at the same conclusion; for when Romulus wanted wives for his new subjects, and applied to Mars in his distress, the answer was,

Pesla para Conso, Confus tibi caetera dicet. Ovid. Fast. 111.

but *Confus* is generally allowed to be no other than Neptune; and from this passage the Romans seem to have believed, that he ordered the very sports he chose to have used on this critical occasion: Mars only in general suggesting to prepare a festival in honour of *Confus*, who was to order the rest himself, both as to what sort of games should be performed, as well as what use should be made of them towards remedying the want complained of; which account may be perfectly true; although we allow that long after Priscus Tarquinius first pitched on the spot for a *Circus* (afterwards the *Circus Maximus*) whence the games were called *Circenses*; for they were the same as those celebrated by Romulus under the name of *Consuales*. Still the difficulty urged against the former

[rr] Gruter, ccciv. 4. Jobert, II. 194, 231. Scaliger de Emendat. Temporum, Col. Allobr. 1629, p. 477.

[ss] Graevii Antiq. Rom. ix. p. 14.

interpretations may be applied to this, and so may the answer too, and with this additional circumstance in its favor; that here are three letters, instead of one, to be added to each of the two last words, and for which it would be really difficult to find room. They might indeed have omitted NEPTVNO, as nobody could mistake the type, and only have said, if that was their intention, CIRCENSIVM CONSTITVTORI: and as the trident and nakedness of the figure sufficiently pointed out the deity meant, the anchor at bottom, if that is the thing intended, might have been spared; and, instead of it, a chariot, or even a wheel, or an horse, would more effectually have prevented distant ages from mistaking the whole meaning, even in case the legend should be defaced: not that there was any danger of this happening to the Romans, who saw at once before them the coin, the statue, and the games [17]. But may we not hence conjecture, that the Romans considered their coin, merely as such, just as moderns do theirs, and never thought of their proving the best and most lasting historical evidences: for if they had, may we not presume, that they would have taken care, as is done in good modern medals, to convey their meaning clearly, by words at length, or abbreviated in such a manner, as not to be liable to be misunderstood; and by the addition of proper [18] dates, and such accessory, though subordinate parts of the type, to raise the same ideas in all ages, as in that of the coinage; which seems to be the characteristic difference between coin for present use as such, and medals, intended for evidences in future times. How far both purposes might be united in coin designed for currency, is another and difficult consideration; for the boundless variety of the Roman types, &c. which makes their coin so precious to us now,

[17] Just as the general meaning of modern coronation medals, however faultily or carelessly executed, can never be mistaken by the spectators of the ceremony.

[18] If the Consulships or Tribuneships now serve to date, it is more perhaps than was originally intended; otherwise they would probably have seen the necessity of using some other method, in the instance of Hadrian's third Consulship, which lasted so long.

[seems incompatible with our principal design of preventing counterfeits; which is best effected by [ww] the fewness and uniformity of our pieces: whereas if all the Roman money, that was coined in their earliest times, continued in currency to the end of their empire, it could hardly be considered by them in any other light than that of bullion; as no common man could possibly be supposed to know whether it had really originated from the public mint or no; because, if all were different, by what standard should they try the piece about which they were in doubt. Pliny [xx] indeed mentions true Denarii as being of use and value to detect false ones: but even supposing there were several struck from one die, as this passage proves, yet we are sure, that the dies were so numerous [yy], that a man must have kept a vast sum by him, if he proposed having always in readiness a true one of every sort, by which to try all doubtful ones, that might occasionally require to be examined. But may we not go farther, and ask, what occasion had the forger to imitate particu-

[ww] This seems to have answered. I have a penny list of all the counterfeit gold known to be in currency. There may be thirty-five Portugal pieces; and only six or seven of ours, viz. four guineas, one half, and two quarter guineas. This short list shews too how very easy it is to point out certainly the difference between the true and false; but how could any thing of that kind be done for the Romans? A further guard might be added, to make filing impossible, or at least immediately discoverable by the dullest eye; and which, at the same time, should contribute to the beauty of the coin, instead of setting the letters to the edge, which makes it look as if clipped at the mint; a contrivance that, besides not answering the end (for I have a guinea of 1756, I think, in all other respects perfectly fair, which wants 13 grains) familiarises the eye to the same appearance in earlier pieces, where its unsuspected depredations are more violent and injurious. And could sweating be prevented as easily, nothing further would be wanting for the security or beauty of our gold coin. Perhaps this last evil is tolerably well guarded against by an act passed since the first part of this note was written: but the trouble of weighing even a guinea is thought much of by an opulent people, and indeed destroys the idea of coin; which ought to convey an immediate declaration of the weight and fineness, without wanting scales or touchstone; both which the Chinese are so used to use to their bullion; being a people (to the disgrace of their encomiasts) too necessitous, too ingenious, and too knavish, to be trusted with coin.

[xx] N. H. l. xxii. c. 46. tom. II. p. 627. The whole passage is worthy consideration.

[yy] Patin had 3000 of Trajan, not two of which were alike. See note [c].

lar pieces at all, which could only serve to detect him? why not compose one entirely new, and of his own invention [22]; but in the style and manner of the age he pretended to? nor would this require any genius, for as a priest and a plow with the name of the town was the common type of a colony, suppose he copied such an one, and put the name of a town, that was made a colony of about the same time by another person [22]. What an exact knowledge of immaterial circumstances in history is here required, to detect a falsification of an eight-penny piece, and which must of necessity be done on the spot; and in fact would be insufficient after all! How would an honest countryman under the later emperors be expected to know, whether a coin, that pretended to be of the time of the Punic war, was really then struck by government? So that, as they seem to have carried on the business of a nation for many years without any coinage at all, they were afterwards so fruitful in furnishing designs for it, as seemingly to have destroyed it, as far as the notion and convenience of coin is concerned; for if every Denarius was to be tried, as to its weight and fineness, this reduced their coin to mere bullion, and then the expence of the true coinage might have been saved, and the mischief of the false prevented; which last seems to have been much practised even earlier than the time of the emperors. A few

[22] If there is any truth in this argument, what can make a plated denarius worth at this time three or four guineas; as was expected for some at a sale of coins two or three years ago, under the direction of Abbé Giraldi, who was exceedingly angry that the company disliked his putting up such himself at this enormous price. *Cui bono*, but the seller's?

[22] At least this is a fruitful mine for forgers on paper to work with; if they are not able to furnish a drawing, they can hardly be puzzled to furnish out the few necessary words. Is there no reason for believing that the coin, supposed to be for *Camulodunum*, is of this sort, and that for *Divona* too; unless Richard of Cirencester's Epithet to *Dron* of Getica (which Dr. Stukeley writes Cretica) may serve to authorize it? What evidence, besides Mr. Camden's word, are we to suppose Dr. Leigh had, when he pronounced this coin unquestionable? Much better doth Dr. Ph. Fowke write. Leigh's *Natural History of Lancashire*, b. iii. p. 27. and 30.

Such,

such, Mr. Wise informs us, are in the Oxford cabinet among the coins of the families: but we cannot be absolutely sure, that they are not of much later times than those they pretend to, if what has been suggested before should be thought probable. However, some proceedings of this kind Pliny certainly charges on Anthony: *Miscuit denario Triumvir Antonius ferrum* [bbb]. If common plating is meant, I should rather have expected *innixit*, i. e. *intromixit*; and could wish that gentlemen would give themselves the trouble of examining their cabinets, to see if they have any of Anthony's coins, particularly his Legions, which might fix Pliny's meaning to this, or any other, sense. Such a base coin, that would clear up this difficulty, I should readily acknowledge to be more curious and valuable, than several of better metal, but less meaning. If Anthony was in his enemy's country, or even among friends, but very hard pushed to procure subsistence, he might pay his soldiers in this base coin, and they would readily get provision for it, from the unsuspecting countrymen, to whom it would look perfectly fair at first: and then, moving the army elsewhere, he would have supplied his present wants, and the bad money would be left behind [ccc]. This is a sort of

[bbb] V. Froelich, *Quatuor Tentamina*, p. 365. But it is not easy to say, what Gessner intended, when, speaking of the metal of ancient coins, he says, *aut passissimum, solum Antonius Triumvir aereis nummis ferrum admiscuit*. Numism. Reg. Mac. ad Lectorem, p. 9. But who hath a right to say now that he was the only one who did so? why *aereis* and *admiscuit*, when Pliny says *denario* and *miscuit*? can we really form any idea of such a debasement, or are any coins of such a mixed metal now extant? and if the great natural historian meant only common plating, then the tinning of brass vessels could hardly be reckoned by him any extraordinary invention of the Gauls, N. H. tom. II. p. 669. l. xxv. c. 48. tom. II. p. 627. l. xxxii. c. 9.: and it was still easier to extend the like application of silver to horse and kitchen furniture, such as they plainly had in quantities at Herculaneum. See Caylus; which very thing has however lately appeared among us as a new invention: but I have not yet heard that we do, what the slaves practised in the rings, and what might be advantageously done in many cases, *ferrum aureo cingere*.

[ccc] It is probable, that the counterfeiters of coin among us are more fully employed than is generally thought, as the vile goods they circulate must cease to answer the intended purpose, after a short currency. Thus a mixture of pewter and brass washed over with silver, though it may impose for a few days on a careless observer, will quickly be of so jaundiced a complexion as not to be passed off even to a poor turnpike man in the dark.

military stratagem to plunder a country not commonly practised; though some such game is confidently said to have been play'd by a greater man than Anthony in Germany during the last destructive war; but how a prince can issue such wretched stuff, as hath been attempted at times in most countries, to his own people at home without equal injustice and loss too in the end to himself and subjects, is hard to say; for as soon as it is once discovered, that the ruling powers are not ashamed to issue out such base wares, what should hinder the counterfeiter, both at home and abroad, from doing the same without stint?

P. S. In note [a], I have mentioned the discovery of an inscription at Colchester: it is in Mr. Gray's possession, but difficult to make out. That it should be the only one, that has hitherto been found in a place where the Romans resided so long, and in such great numbers, is really extraordinary: it is still more so, that no other has been discovered in the whole county. As this circumstance is pretty well known, from the void in Horseley, &c. I was surprized to find that a late writer on the affinity of the Irish and Punic languages should give the Greek inscription found at, or near, Corbridge in Northumberland, to the eastern coast of Essex, at the town of Colchester, till upon a careful reading of Dr. Todd's account of this stone in Phil. Trans. N° 330, I perceived, that the mistake arose from the Doctor's saying, that it was found at Colchester, a mile west of Corbridge, upon the banks of the river Tyne. The writer has also adopted the Doctor's copy, though less perfect than Dr. Hunter's in Phil. Trans. N° 278, and his translation too, which is less simple and natural, than Mr. Horseley's Northumb. cvi. p. 246 and 397. See also Mr. Wallis's Hist. of Northumb. II. p. 127. The same spot, or Corbridge at least, has also furnished another inscription in the same language to Astarte. See Stukeley's Carausius, II. p. 161. and Wallis, II. p. 127. The stone is finely figured in the Archaeolog. II. p. 93. and is only mentioned here, for the sake of giving Mr. Tyrwhitt's reading of it, which wants no commendation, or explanation:

Αρχαῖος ἑστὶν μὲν ἱερὸς, Πουλλυρὸς μὲν ἀσάβητος.

To end of note [c] add, Mr. Wallis, II. p. 46, and 537, describes two sculptures of Neptune, found, the one at Carraw-Brough, the other at Capheaton: this last holds in his right hand a trident, and in his left an anchor, and is, I believe, of silver, and was found with several other sacred things of the same metal.

XXIV. An historical description of an ancient picture in Windsor-castle, representing the interview between king Henry VIII. and the French king Francis I. between Gulnes and Ardres, in the year 1520. By Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Baronet, V. P. A. S. and F. R. S.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQVARIES, March 29, 1770; and a second Time, by Order of the Society, March 7, 1771.

THE numerous remains of Greek and Roman sculpture, now extant, afford incontestible proofs that, in early times, a strong passion prevailed amongst the civilized states of Asia and Europe, for perpetuating and transmitting to posterity durable and faithful representations of their most memorable transactions, as well as of their customs, civil and religious rites, ceremonies, and triumphs. The like inclination afterward spread itself throughout the west, where the people had no sooner rubbed off the rust of barbarism, than they adopted the ideas, customs, manners, and practice of the more polished nations. Our northern ancestors followed the example; and we find that it was not unusual with them to represent and perpetuate, either in sculpture, painting, or arras, such transactions, pomps, solemnities, and remarkable events, more especially those which happened in their own times, as they conceived to be either redounding to the national honour and the glory of their monarch; or tending to add a lustre to their own characters, and the reputation of their families, from the several parts they had respectively acted in those affairs.

THIS custom, which was very prevalent in the neighbouring kingdom of France, hath furnished the celebrated antiquary father Montfaucon with a considerable part of the materials from whence he compiled his elaborate work, intituled, *Monumens de la Monarchie Française*.

It would not, perhaps, be a deviation from truth, to assert, that, in regard to historic facts, this practice was not only frequently enjoined by royal authority, but that, in some cases, it was made the duty of those persons, who had the superintendence and direction of public ceremonies, to cause them to be carefully represented either in sculpture or painting. Unexceptionable documents, as well as the public records, supply us with evidence in support of the former part of the suggestion; and the probability of the latter is strengthened by passages in several of the old historical descriptions of pomps and solemnities, some of which descriptions, for the better elucidation of their subject, refer to paintings and sculptures wherein such solemnities were represented.

PART of the ceremony of the coronation of Knute and his queen Elfgiva is painted at the beginning of a very curious cœval manuscript formerly belonging to Hyde abbey, of which Knute was the founder [a]. The conquest of England by William the Norman, together with the circumstances that contributed thereunto, from the first embassy on which Harold went into Normandy until the conclusion of the battle of Hastings, was, by command of queen Matilda, represented in painting; and afterwards, by her own hands and the assistance of the ladies of her court, worked in arras, and presented to the cathedral at Bajeux, where it is still preserved [b]. Simeon, IXth abbot of

[a] This manuscript is now in the Library of Thomas Astle, esq.

[b] *Memoires de l'Academie R. des Sciences*, tom, VIII. *Monumens de la Monarchie Française*, tom. IV. *Memoires de l'Academie R. des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, tom. VI. Ducarel's *Antiquities*, in Append.

Ely, who was a near relation to the Conqueror, and founder of that cathedral, caused the history of saint Etheldreda, daughter of Anna king of the East Angles, to be carved in basso-relievo on the capitals of the eight pillars that support the dome and lantern [c]. King Henry III. who throughout the course of his long reign shewed his great regard to the liberal arts, and entertained and encouraged their professors [d], frequently commanded that his palaces and chapels should be adorned with English historical paintings and sculptures [e]. Although that monarch doth not mention what were the subjects of those historical pieces which he ordered to be painted in his queen's chamber at Winchester [f]; yet he is more explicit as to others, which were the effects of his royal mandate. Such as the histories of the two royal saints, Edmund and Edward, which were painted in his round chapel at Woodstock [g]; the history of the Crusade in the king's great chamber within the Tower of London [h], and in a low room in the garden near his Jewry at Westminster, which last mentioned room, on account of its being so decorated, was thenceforth to be called the Antioch chamber [i]; the story of Edward the Confessor taking off his ring and giving it to a poor stranger, painted in St. John's chapel within the Tower of London [k], and in the queen's chapel at Winchester [l]; and the life of king

[c] Bentham's Hist. and Antiq. of the Church of Ely, p. 52, &c. where these carvings are engraved.

[d] See Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England.

[e] Rot. Claus. 20 Hen. III. m. 12. A^o 22. m. 3. A^o 29 m. 4. A^o 35. m. 5. A^o 36. m. 22. A^o 44. m. 9. Rot. Liberat. A^o 21 Hen. III. m. 5. A^o 22. m. 3. A^o 44. m. 6. A^o 49. m. 7. A^o 51. m. 8. & 10.

[f] Rot. Liberat. A^o 17 Hen. III. m. 6.

[g] Ibid.

[h] Rot. Claus. A^o 35 Hen. III. m. 11.

[i] Ibid. m. 10.

[k] Rot. Claus. A^o 20 Hen. III. m. 12.

[l] Rot. Claus. A^o 29 Hen. III.

Edward the Confessor, both in painting and sculpture, round his chapel in Westminster abbey [m], executed by the hand of Peter Cavallini [n]. Many parts of our English story are represented in the illuminations which adorn that copy of Matthew Paris, which he presented to king Henry III. [o]. Langton, Bishop of Lichfield, caused the coronation, marriages, wars, and funeral of his patron king Edward I. to be painted in the hall of his episcopal palace, which he had newly built [p]. The story of Guy earl of Warwick was wrought in a suit of arras, and presented by king Richard II. to his half-brother Thomas earl of Surrey [q]. And the history of the latter part of the reign of that unfortunate king was, by one of his courtiers, represented with great accuracy in sixteen paintings, which adorn a manuscript presented to his queen, and now in the British Museum [r]. Many other instances might likewise be produced.

HowEVER intrinsic the merits of these performances might have been, the satisfaction they afforded at the time of their being compleated was much inferior to the advantages of which such as still remain have since been productive. Their utility to antiquaries, and the light which they have thrown upon many subjects of historical enquiry, have been much greater than could

[m] The paintings are now lost; but the sculptures, consisting of fourteen elegant compartments, remain on the fascia of the cornice of the wall which separates the Confessor's chapel from the choir. The paintings on the shrine of king Sebert, and those in the press which contain the figures commonly called the ragged regiment, were executed by order of king Henry III.

[n] Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting.

[o] This curious and truly valuable MS. is now in the British Museum.

[p] Erdwicke's Staffordshire, p. 101. Willis's Cathedrals, vol. I. p. 17.

[q] Dugdale's Warwickshire.

[r] Harleian Library, N° 1319. This MS. was written and painted by John de la Marque, a French gentleman, who attended King Richard II. from his expedition into Ireland to the time of the delivery of the young Queen to the commissioners of her father the French King.

have

have been originally apprehended. To this, the conduct of the artists employed on such occasions evidently contributed, and that in no small degree. Instead of loading their compositions with allegory, fiction, and emblems; instead of introducing a variety of imaginary and romantic figures and embellishments, that never existed but in the wildness of fancy; and instead of grouping together things which in fact were ever distant from each other; practices too much indulged by later painters; they confined themselves with the greatest attention to truth, reality, and accuracy. They represented persons and things exactly in the same mode, form, attitude, habit, colour, situation, and condition, as they actually saw them; and that without any disguise, diminution, addition, or other alteration; and, by drawing from the life every principal figure in the piece, exhibited exact portraits of the personages concerned in that particular transaction which they endeavoured to commemorate.

HENCE it is, that such pieces, whilst they display the grandeur and magnificence of former ages, and point out the taste, fashions, customs, and manners of our ancestors, at the same time shew us the armor, weapons, habits, furniture, implements, and ornaments, which they used; give us real and faithful views, not only of their towns, churches, palaces, and other buildings, as they actually were, but of the decorations of their several parts; set before us a variety of interesting particulars unnoticed by our historians; and convey to us a clearer idea of the whole, than can be attained by reading the most elaborate and descriptive narrative [1].

[1] Amongst these the following may be reckoned; videlicet, K. Richard II. seated on his throne, and attended by his uncles [1]. John lord Lovel sitting in his great hall, and receiving a book from father John Siferne [2]. The coronation of king Henry V. [3]. King Henry V. and his family [4]. The

[1] In an illuminated copy of *Priseart*, in the British Museum.

[2] In a missal, *ibid.*

[3] In alto relievo, on the outside of the wall of the choir of that king in Westminster abbey.

[4] In possession of the late James West, esq.

THE miseries which England underwent in the long contest consecration of St. Thomas Becket, presented to king Henry V. by his uncle the duke of Bedford [5]. The battle of Agincourt, formerly in the palace at St. James's [6]. The marriage of king Henry VI. and Margaret daughter of Reyner, duke of Anjou [7.] King Edward IV. his queen, eldest son, and the nobility of his court [8]. The landing of Henry duke of Richmond, afterwards king Henry VII. and the marriage of his son Arthur, wrought in tapestry, and sold by order of the parliament after the death of king Charles I. [9]. The battle of Bosworth enamelled on a jewel, usually worn by king Henry VIII. and sold among king Charles I's pictures [9]. A grand geographical chart of the kingdom of England, in which the several places wherein any battles had happened between the houses of York and Lancaster were marked [10]. A sea-fight between the French and English off Dover in the year 1400, wrought in tapestry, and preserved in the great wardrobe at St. James's [10]. The interview between king Henry VIII. and the emperor Maximilian at Tournay, now in a private apartment in Kensington palace; two pictures, representing the entry of king Henry VIII. into Calais, accompanied by several persons of distinction, painted from the life; and another picture of Henry VIII's interview with the emperor Charles V. at Calais, all which were kept in a gallery at the palace of St. James in the reign of queen Elizabeth [10]. The landing of the emperor Charles V. and his reception at Dover; the interview of Henry VIII and Francis I.; the siege of Bulloign; the fight between the English and French fleets near Spithead; the procession of king Edward VI. and other historical pieces, at Cowdry, in Sussex, the seat of the viscount Montagu. The batt'e of the spurs, in the picture gallery at Windsor; the taking of Kinfaule by the Spaniards, which hung in the gallery next the playhouse at St. James's palace [10]. Henry VIII. giving a charter of incorporation to the company of Barber-surgeons [11]. Edward VI. delivering to the lord Mayor of London his royal charter, whereby he gave up his royal palace of Bridewell to be converted into an hospital and workhouse [12]. The glorious destruction of the boasted Spanish armada, wrought in tapestry, and now the hangings of the house of lords. A limning of the Spanish Armada, by old Hilliard [13]. A map of all the country about Kinfaule, where the Spaniards were beaten [13]; and many others.

[5] In the possession of the late James Webb, esq.

[6] Mandello's Voyage to England in the year 1640, vol. IV. p. 617, &c.

[7] Belonging to H. Walpole, esq.

[8] MSS. in the Lambethian library.

[9] Belonging to H. Walpole, esq.

[10] Mandello.

[11] At Barbers Hall.

[12] In the great hall at Bridewell.

[13] Cat. of king Charles I's pictures.

between

between the houses of York and Lancaster, the fury which at the time of the Reformation was exerted against sculptures, pictures, and images, in general; the demolition of our monasteries and religious houses; the ruins of time; and the outrages committed during the civil wars and subsequent usurpation; have undoubtedly deprived the present age of many valuable performances of this sort. Happily some have, however, escaped the general wreck; and, by the entertainment and information they afford, teach us to deplore the loss of those which have been either destroyed by time, or fallen sacrifices to popular rage, ignorance, anarchy, and confusion.

AMONGST the pictures here alluded to, that which represents the famous interview of king Henry VIII. and the French king Francis I. within the English pale between Guines and Ardres in the year 1520, hath a particular claim to our attention, as well on account of the importance and singularity of its subject, as of the immense number of figures which it contains, the variety of matter which it exhibits, and the manner in which the whole is executed.

THIS masterly and elaborate performance is preserved in the royal castle at Windsor; but being there placed in the king's private apartments below stairs, which are seldom permitted to be shewn, hath long remained in great measure unknown to the public, notwithstanding it hath a better claim to the attention of the curious, and more particularly to that of an antiquary, than many of the justly celebrated pictures in that inestimable collection.

HISTORY informs us, that four days after signing of the treaties concluded at London on the fourth of October 1518, for the marriage of the princess Mary of England with the dauphin of France, for the delivery of Tournay to the French, and for the
mutuali

mutual prevention of depredations being committed by the subjects either of England or France on the territories of their respective monarchs [r], a further treaty was concluded for an interview between king Henry VIII. and Francis I.; which interview was thereby agreed to be had before the end of July following, at Sandifeild, situate between the limits of their respective territories [u]. This meeting however was prevented from taking place at that time, by the death of the emperor Maximilian, and the confusion wherein all Europe was thereby involved. Toward the close of the ensuing year, Charles V. of Spain being elected emperor, the French king, who had been his competitor for the empire, grew apprehensive that a war was inevitable, on account of the jealousies which still subsisted between them. He therefore sent Bonivet, admiral of France, again into England, to press on and settle every thing relating to the intended interview; hoping thereby to secure king Henry in his interest. In this negotiation the admiral was powerfully seconded by the repeated applications of the four French noblemen who remained in England as hostages for Francis's performance on his part of the beforementioned treaties [w]. Henry being equally desirous that the interview should take place, every obstacle was removed by Wolsey, who secretly flattered himself with expectations, that his presence on that occasion would give him a fair opportunity of obtaining the French king's assistance towards his election to the papal chair, an elevation to which he at that time aspired.

THAT no time might unnecessarily be lost, the day, place, form, order, and manner of the meeting, and the regulation of the whole ceremonial, were by both monarchs confided to the

[r] Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 624, &c.

[u] Ibid. p. 618, 679, 691.

[w] Ibid. Hall's Chron. fol. lxix.

Cardinal of York [x], who accordingly, on the 24th of March following, made his award [y], wherein he fixed the interview for the 4th of June, and determined, that as Henry crossed the seas, and thereby put himself to great inconvenience and expence, merely to do honour to the French King, the place of their meeting should not be in a neutral part, but on the open plain within the English pale, between the castle of Guines and Ardres [z]; that on the day of the interview Henry should go half a mile out of Guines, in his way towards Ardres, but still keeping within the limits of the castle of Guines; and that Francis, setting out from Ardres at the same time, should meet him at such place,

[x] Hall's Chron. fol. LXXIX. Rymer's Foed. tom. XIII. p. 695.

[y] Rymer's Foed. tom. XIII. p. 707.

[z] *In aliquo loco non fortificato nec munito a limitibus Francie non longe distante.* Conclusio Card. Ebor. apud Rymeri Foed. tom. XIII. p. 707. The line which formed the English pale is not now known; neither doth it appear that any treaty or convention was ever concluded for settling the boundary between the English and French territories in Picardy. Our National Records and historians are silent as to this matter. Abbé Longuerre, in his description de la France, La-Martiniere, in his Dictionnaire Geographique, and Mont. Lafebure, in his Histoire de Calais, do not afford the least information; and the French historians are equally defective. On a late application to the Count de Guines, he, in the most obliging manner, directed, that every possible enquiry should be made in the French dépôt, and elsewhere, for papers which might explain and ascertain that matter. This was accordingly done, but without the wished-for success. A manuscript in the Harleian Library, N^o 3880, may perhaps help us in forming some idea of the limits. It is intituled *Lands rental*, and contains a terrier of the several fields, lands, and possessions, belonging to the crown of England, as well within the comté of Guisnes, as in the town and marches of Calais, compiled at the command of King Edward VI. by Sir Richard Colton, Comptroller of the Household, Sir Anthony St. Leger, Knight of the Garter, and Thomas Mildmay, Esq; commissioners appointed for that purpose; who, for their greater certainty, called before them the several tenants of the crown, examined them on oath, and strictly perused their original grants.

near the French territories, as should be assigned by commissioners for that purpose to be appointed on both sides; and that, as each of them was of great bodily strength, in the vigour of youth, and perfectly skilled in all martial exercises, jousts, tilts, and tournaments, in which both monarchs were to be challengers, should, during the days of the interview, be performed in some proper place, situate likewise between Guînes and Ardres [*a*]. The rest of the regulations concerned the reciprocal visits which the two kings and their respective queens were to make to each other; the precedence to be observed at those times; the entertainments and banquets to be given by each; the lodging and behaviour of their retinues; and the jousts and feats of arms to be performed by Henry and Francis, and their aids [*b*]. Wolfey at the same time published a list of the several persons whom he had appointed to attend upon Henry and his queen at the interview [*c*]; and proclamations were made in the principal courts of Europe, notifying, that in June next following Henry and Francis would, with seven aids each [*d*], in a camp between Guînes and Ardres,

[*a*] *Ibid.* and *Memoires du Bellai*.

[*b*] *Rymer's Foed.* tom. XIII. p. 706. *Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.* p. 95. *Hall's Chron.* fol. LXX. *Holinshed's Chron.* *Segar's Honor Civil and Military.* *Fiddes's Life of Cardinal Wolfey.*

[*c*] *Rymer's Foed.* tom. XIII. *Fiddes and Hall's Chron.* Dr. Ducarel, in his *Anglo-Norman Antiquities*, hath printed, from a manuscript in the Lambeth Library, a list of the attendants on Henry and his queen, differing in several names from the list published by Rymer, and further containing the number of the respective retainers, servants, and horses, allotted to each of the attendants.

[*d*] According to *Hall's Chron.* the aiders on the English side were—the Duke of Suffolk—the Marquis of Dorset—Sir William Kingston—Sir Richard Gerningham—Sir Giles Capel—Mr. Nicholas Carew—and Sir Anthony Knevet. And those of the French party were—the Duke de Vendosme—Le Comte de Saint Pol—Monf. Cavaan—Monf. Bukkal—Monf. Montmoranci—Monf. de Roche—and Monf. Bion. *Du Bellai* and *Lefebure* have given us a different list.

answer all comers that were gentlemen, at all tilts, tournaments, and barriers.

THE time between Wolsey's issuing his award, and the day of interview, was employed by the two monarchs and their courts in making the necessary preparations. Henry and Francis were both of them fond of pomp, parade, and magnificence. They were equally desirous of shewing their personal valour and accomplishments; strove to distinguish themselves by promoting the liberal arts; and vied with each other for superiority in what was then esteemed taste and politeness. Hence it followed, that no expence whatever was spared on either side. Every thing was elegant, sumptuous, and magnificent. The tents and pavilions destined for the conference between the two kings, and those appropriated for their subsequent repose, were covered with cloth of gold; and the habits of the nobility and attendants of every rank and degree were so excessive rich [c], and the place of meeting

[c] Hall, in his Chron. f. lxxv. says "He were much wiser that could have told or shewed of the riches of apparel that was amongst the lords and gentlemen of England—Cloth of gold—cloth of silver—velvettes—tinsins—sattins embroidered—and crimson sattins.—The marvellous thresor of golde that was worne in chaynes and baudericks so great, so weighty, some so manifolde, some in collars of ss. great, that the golde was innumerable to my deeming to be summed of all noblemen, gentlemen, squires, knights; and every honest officer of the king was richly appareled, and had chaynes of golde, great, and marvellous weightie. What should be sayd? Surely amongst the Englishmen lacked no riches nor beautifull apparel or array."—The English Ladies wore habits made according to the French mode, whereby, as Polydore Vergil observes, they lost on the side of modesty more than they gained in point of grace; and, in regard to dress, they allowed themselves to be inferior to the Ladies of the French court. However, *Monf. le Marechal de Fleurenges* very candidly acknowledges, that, amidst the great excess of expence in both courts, it was universally allowed, that, although the French distinguished themselves by a superiority in magnificence, yet the English far exceeded them in taste. *Mem. de M. de Fleurenges*.—Many of the English nobility, and particularly *Edward Duke of Buckingham*, expressed their dislike of the whole of this useless parade, as they called it; but Henry's will was not to be opposed.—*Gallard, Hist. de Francis I. tom. II. part 2. p. 83. Herbert, Hist. of Henry VIII. p. 97. Dugdale's Baron. vol. I. p. 170.*

was, from the quantity of gold stuff used on the occasion, called LE CAMP DE DRAP D'OR. This profusion of expence induced Du Bellai to say, *that many of the French nobility carried their mills, their forests, and their meadows, on their backs* [f]; and will account for the truth of the assertion of many of our historians, who tell us, that the English nobility did not, for several years afterwards, recover from the distress wherein their prodigious expence incurred on this occasion had involved them [g].

THE

[f] Memoires de Monf. du Bellai, vol. VII. p. 319, &c.

[g] Shakspeare, in the first scene of the play of Henry VIII, introduces the Duke of Norfolk giving a most pompous description of this interview to the Duke of Buckingham, who there exclaims,

O many
Hays broke their backs with laying manors on 'em
For this great journey.

Norfolk.

Men might say,

Till this time pomp was single, but now marry'd
To one above itself—each following day
Became the next day's master, till the last
Made former wonders, its:—to-day the French
All clinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods,
Shone down the English; and to-morrow they
Made Britain India: every man that stood
Shew'd like a mine. Their dwarfish pages were
As cherubims, all gilt; the madams too,
Not us'd to toil, did almost sweat to bear
The pride upon them; that their very labour
Was to them as a painting. Now this mask
Was cry'd incomparable; and th' ensuing night
Made it a fool and beggar—The two kings,
Equal in lustre, were now best, now worst,
At presence did present them; him in eye,
Still him in praise; and being present both,
'Twas said, they saw but one, and no discernor
Durst wag his tongue in censure. When these suns,
For so they phrase 'em, by their heralds challeng'd

The

THE unexpected arrival of the Emperor Charles V. at Dover, on the 26th day of May, his continuance in the English court until the last day of that month, and other unavoidable accidents, delayed the interview until Sunday the 7th of June, when it took place.

ON the morning of that day, upon a signal given by firing a cannon from the English side, which was answered by another at Ardres, the two monarchs set out, Henry from Guines, and Francis from Ardres, both royally accompanied, and rode towards the valley of Arden; where, on their meeting, each of them at the same instant put his hand to his bonnet, and, taking it off, saluted the other. This done, both dismounted from their horses, and, after mutual embraces and compliments, walked together towards the tent that was pitched for their conference, and, entering it arm in arm, again embraced each other [b].

WHEN the ceremonies were ended, the two kings parted, and retired to their respective lodgings. The remainder of the time that this interview lasted, being twenty-eight days, was spent in reciprocal visits, splendid banquets, tilts, tournaments, and other martial exercises.

IN thus stating the above account of this interview, and the preparations previous thereto, as related by our historians, and

The noble spirits to arms, they did perform
Beyond thought's compass; that old fabulous story,
Being now seen possible enough, got credit;
That Bevis was believ'd.

[b] In the same scene, the Duke of Norfolk describes them thus:

— — — Twixt Guines and Ardres,

I was then present, saw 'em salute on horseback,
Beheld them when they lighted, how they clung
In their embracement, as they grew together;
Which had they, what four thron'd ones could have weigh'd
Such a compounded one?

vouched

vouched by the public records, I have been the more particular, not only that the picture now under consideration might be the better understood, but in order to shew, that the painter hath, in a most extraordinary manner, strictly and minutely adhered to fact, and made truth and accuracy the sole guides of his pencil.

THE singularity and importance of this transcendent triumph, on which the eyes of all Europe at that time had been fixed, and wherein magnificence itself was in great measure exhausted, could not but impress the minds of both monarchs with a desire of transmitting to posterity, in the most effectual and permanent manner, some memorial of it. For this purpose, Edward Hall, Recorder of London, who was present at the interview, drew up, by King Henry's command, a circumstantial account of every day's transaction, and printed it in his Chronicle. Other accounts also were written by different Englishmen attendant at the solemnity [1]. At the same time a Journal of these transactions was prepared, pursuant to the order of Francis; and many years after, it fell into the hands of Monsieur Peyresc. This last mentioned piece remained a considerable time in manuscript; but, being found in the Library of Monsieur de Mazauges, was published by Father Montfaucon, in his fourth tome of *Monumens de la Monarchie Francoise*, together with a somewhat different narrative, written about the time of the interview, by Robert de la Mark, Marechal de Florenge [2].

[1] Several of these narratives were bound up in a large volume, which was afterwards deposited in the Cottonian library, Caligula, D. VI; but that volume, together with many others, perished in the fire which happened in that noble collection of manuscripts.

[2] He was a Marechal of France, and died in the year 1537. His Memoirs are likewise printed at the end of those of Mons. du Bellai, published by M. Lambert, in 1753, in seven vols. 12mo. A somewhat different account of this interview is also printed in *Le Ceremonial François*, tom. II. p. 736.

On

On this occasion the sister arts were likewise employed: Francis caused the cavalcade to be carved in Bas Relievo, on five marble tables, and placed in the front of the house of the Procureur General, at Rouen, where they are still preserved [f]; and Henry ordered the whole of the interview, together with its attendant circumstances, to be described in painting; which was accordingly executed in the picture now remaining in Windsor Castle.

THE great superiority of the English painter over the French statuary appears evident, when their respective performances are compared together. The marbles, of which P. Montfaucon and Dr. Ducarel have favoured the public with exact engravings [m], are confined solely to the cavalcade of the two monarchs, and their first meeting on horseback; the whole ill-designed, and worse executed. The figures are but few, and those meagre, disproportioned, ungraceful, badly-disposed, and in no respect resembling the personages they are intended to represent. These faults, as well as the defects of the French sculptor, are carefully avoided by the artist to whom we are indebted for the picture. He therein gives us, in a masterly manner, a spirited representation of almost every progressive circumstance, from the outset to the conclusion of the interview; and hath managed the whole of the piece in such a regular, faithful, and correct manner, as demonstrates his strict observance of historic, as well as local truth in every part of the representation, and his extraordinary vigilance in not omitting any thing conducive to our understanding, and having a clear and compleat view of the whole.

[f] The strictest enquiry hath been made; but no other sculpture, or any picture, illumination, drawing, or print, of this interview, hath been found in France. Neither is there to be met with in the Libraries of that kingdom any manuscript account or description of that ceremony, except those mentioned in this dissertation.

[m] *Monumens de la Mon. Fran. tom. iv. and Anglo-Norman Antiquities.*

FOR

For the better explaining this truly valuable and extraordinary painting, it should be considered as if divided into two parts. The part forming the right hand side exhibits a bird's-eye view of the market-place, church, and castle, of Guines, together with part of the town walls, and their surrounding ditch. In the foreground thereof the English cavalcade, of which I shall speak more at large in the sequel, is represented as passing towards the place of interview. Over these, in the back ground, and towards the top of the picture, is a view of the morass which lies on the north side of the town, and of the river that runs from thence to Calais. The castle is represented as a pentagon, encompassed by a wet ditch, communicating with that of the town, and fortified at each angle by a round tower or bastion. Within the castle is seen the top of the keep or dungeon, which was called *la Cave*, and the belfrey of the chapel [n]. Several persons are sitting on the roof

[n] Guines in Picardy stands at the north end of a morass on the left hand of the road leading from Calais to Boulogne, and is two leagues distant from the sea and north-west from Ardres. This town gave name to the Comté wherein it is situate, and of which Ardres, Auderwic, Bredenarde, Sangate, Tournemens, and the port of Wiflan, are dependencies. The Comté contains twelve peerdoms, and as many baronies [1]. The latter are, Ardres, Fiennes, Lieques, Laval, Beshingham, Cresceques, Courtebonne, erected into a marquisate in favour of Charles de Colonné, in the year 1671 [2]. Hames, Zelthum, Hermelingham, La motte d'Ardres, and Alembon en Surques. The former are Perrier, Surques, Fouquet-folles, Bouvelinghem, Recques, Lotbarnes, Auringhes, Nicelles les Ardres, Compaignes, Alsquingoul, Ecclemy, and la Haye.

At what time the town of Guines was founded is now unknown, but its origin was doubtless very ancient; since we find that Valbert, son of Agneric, prime minister to Thierry, king of Burgundy and Austrasia, was possessed of it [3]; as was also his brother and successor, Saint Faron. From that time we have no account of the Lords of Guines and its dependencies, till Lideric, the first earl or forester of Flanders, annexed it to his dominions, and in his family it continued till Arnold the *Bald* or the *Great* ceded it to Sifrid, from whom the first Counts of Guines were descended [4]. This Sifrid coming to the

[1] Lamberti Hist. Comitum Ard. et Guis. P. Lodewis Reliquiae Miscellan. p. 381. Lefebure, Hist. de Calais, tom. I. p. 374. tom. II. p. 354. [2] Bernage, Nobiliare de Picardie. [3] And. du Chesne, Hist. de la Maison de Guines, p. 4. [4] Lamberti Hist. Com. Ard. et Guis. c. 6.

of the shambles, and others standing at the doors of the houses of the town, looking at the cavalcade. The town-guard also appears as drawn up, and standing under arms in the market-place.

assistance of Arnold against William Earl of Ponthieu, seized upon Guines and its territories, and fortifying the keep or dungeon, there fixed his residence; Arnold remonstrated in vain against this act of violence, and, not being able to dispossess Sifrid, gave him his daughter Estrude in marriage, and with her confirmed him in his possession of Guines and its territories, to hold of the Earls of Flanders, by homage. Adolphus, the son of Sifrid and Estrude, afterwards erected it into a Comté. When King Edward III. had made himself master of Calais, he looked upon Guines as a town of too great importance to be suffered to remain in the hands of the French. Wherefore one John de Lancaster, an archer of the garrison of Calais, marching with a party of men at arms and archers, by licence from the Lord Deputy, assailed and took the garrison in the night of the 21st of January 1351; and from that time till the reign of Queen Mary Guines continued in the hands of the English. The Duke of Burgundy besieged it in 1436, but was forced to abandon his enterprize, with the loss of part of his baggage. In April 1514, Francis de Valois, Duke of Angoulême, afterwards Francis I, invested Guines with 8000 men, and a great train of artillery; but soon after hastily broke up the siege, on receiving advice that Henry VIII. was coming to its relief. The Duke of Guise having taken Calais, 1558, besieged Guines, and took it on the 13th of January, after an obstinate resistance made by the governor Lord Gray. A plan of Guines, taken after the last-mentioned siege, and printed at Rome, by Duchelli, represents it as being nearly square, encompassed on all sides by a large wet ditch, and defended by a rampart of earth, strengthened by freestone parapets. The castle, which stood south of the town, was separated from it by a ditch, similar to that of the town, and communicating with it. This castle was built in form of a pentagon, with five round bastions, and very high curtains. In the middle stood a tower, called *la Cow*, which was a square building, fortified without by a strong bulwark, defended by a wet ditch and four towers at its angles: these fortifications were long since razed, by order of the French court, as intirely useless; the frontier on that side of France being thought sufficiently covered by the neighbouring towns of Ardres and Calais.

In the middle of the left hand side of the picture, and near the castle gate, is the elevation of the principal front of a most stately square castellated palace, whose walls are of freestone raised upon a deep plinth or basement of red brick-work. These walls are kernelled on their top, and fortified at their angles, as also on each side of the grand entrance or gateway, by a circular tower of brick-work, pierced with loop or air-holes. On each side of the gate are two large transom bay windows, separated from each other by a square freestone tower, which is carried up above the battlements of the parapet, and terminated by a large projecting moulded cornice. Within the top of each of the round towers is placed a freestone statue, representing a naked man stooping forward, and holding up in both his hands, which are raised above his head, a massy round stone or ball, ready to be thrown over the parapet. Within each of the square towers are two similar statues in the like attitude. These statues seem intended not only as ornaments to the upper part of the building, but to point out the manner in which fortifications and other places were anciently defended from the attacks of assailants at such times as the close approach of the besiegers to the walls rendered the use of other arms of defence ineffectual. Between the heads of the bay windows and the cornice under the battlements, runs a broad flourished frieze, grounded red, and inlaid with an ornament of tracery, not much unlike those which have lately been introduced amongst us by some modern builders, and taken from the ruins of ancient structures discovered at Palmyra. This frieze breaks over both the square towers that strengthen the front, but dies against the sides of the circular towers.

THE head of the grand gateway or entrance into this palace is formed by a catenarian arch, whose archivault rests on the capitals of two Corinthian pilasters, which form the architrave that covers the jambs of the door-way. The archivault is rusticated and enriched

riched with ornaments totally different from those on the frieze. Upon the crown or key stone of the arch stands a male figure, with a pair of expanded wings on his shoulders, and on his head is a skull cap, with a small cross on its front. In his right hand he holds a long shafted cross, shaped like a pilgrim's staff; and in his left a shield, the bottom whereof rests upon the head of an expiring dragon, on which he tramples. These figures, which in all probability were intended as an emblem of the king's then new acquired title of *Defender of the Faith*, are gilt with gold. On each side of this figure is a large union rose of York and Lancaster; and over them hangs a superb festoon, composed of laurel leaves and husks intermixed. The architrave of the entablature is continued above these ornaments; and still higher up is a grand armorial escutcheon, charged with, quarterly, France and England, supported on the dexter side by a lion, Or, and on the sinister by a dragon, Gules, being the arms and supporters then used by King Henry VIII. On one side of this escutcheon is the initial letter H, and on the other the letter R.; the whole surmounted by an imperial crown. The upper part of this escutcheon stands within a composed semicircular pediment of grotesque work, which finishes the elevation of this part of the front. The tympanum of this pediment is hollowed and fluted like an escalop-shell, and over it is a cornice of rusticated work. On the top of the pediment stands the figure of St. George treading on a dragon, and gilt with gold. At each angle of the roof, which is hipped and slated, sits a lion, supporting in his paws a vane made in form of a banner, and charged with one of the king's badges. On the first is, Azure, a fleur de lys, Or; on the second, Or, a red and white union rose; on the third, Argent, the cross of St. George, Gules; and on the fourth, Gules, a white and red union rose. From the center of the roof rises a grand hexangular turret; on the finial

of whose summit stands an emblematical figure of *Religion*, represented as a female, winged, and trampling on a demon or fiend, which lies in a supplicating posture, and is pierced by the shaft of a long cross which Religion holds in her hand. These figures are likewise gilt with gold. On the moulded cornice, which is continued round this turret, at that part where it is separated from the lantern, likewise sit four of the king's beasts, each supporting in their paws banners of the king's badges, viz. first, a white lion sustaining a vane, Or, charged with a red and white union rose; secondly, a red dragon bearing up a vane, Azure, charged with a fleur de lys, Or; thirdly, a white greyhound holding a vane, Azure, charged with a portcullis, Or; fourthly, a red dragon supporting a vane, Gules, charged with a white and red union rose. The great gate of this building is thrown open, and discovers the porter's lodge, part of the first quadrangle, some of the steps of the grand stair-case, and the entrance into the butlery, at the hatch whereof a serving-man is receiving two jugs of wine.

THE edifice here depicted is intended to represent that magnificent temporary palace, or large quadrangular building, which was made of timber, brought ready framed from England, and set up on the plain near the castle of Guines, under the inspection of Sir Edward Belknap, who, with three thousand artificers, was sent thither for that purpose [e]: exclusive of a splendid chapel and the royal

[e] Hall says, "The palays was quadrant; and every quadrant of the same palays was 111. C. xxviii foote longe, of a fyle which was in compesse xiii C. and xii foote aboute:" the whole building, according to Duchesne, was one hundred twenty-eight feet high. The outside was covered with canvas, painted in imitation of free-stone and rubbed brick-work; and the inside was ornamented with curious sculptures. Hall says, that the hallpas and entry of the stairs was ornamented with images in armour wrought in curious work of argentine. The numerous apartments were hung with the richest tapestry, and cloth of gold and silver, paned with green and white silk, being

royal apartments, it contained lodgings for most of the great officers of state [p].

HISTORY informs us, that Henry caused one of the fronts of this palace to be adorned with the figure of a Sagittary, under which the following motto was placed, CUI ADHAEREO PRAEEST. But they are not represented in the picture. As the front therein exhibited appears to be so fully decorated as not to leave room for the admission of such an ornament, we may, with the greater probability, presume, that the Sagittary was placed on the rear or back front of the building, which faced towards the place of interview; and from its point of situation was the best adapted for the reception of that allusion [q].

On the plain before the palace stand two superb conduits, placed at a small distance from each other. Both of these conduits are represented as cased over with different kinds of marble framed in pannel. The rails, stiles, and cornices, are of statuary, and the pannels of red granate. The largest and most magnificent stands on the left hand side of the palace, and is raised upon an ascent of two steps. It consists of an octangular basement story, finished by an embattled parapet, and of three lesser stories of a polygonal form, rising out of the former. The roof which covers the uppermost of these stories is quadrangular, but of a bell-like shape,

being the favourite colours of the house of Tudor. After the interview this sumptuous palace was taken down, and brought back to Eng'nd. The model of it was for a long time preserved in the royal palace at Greenwich, where Lord Herbert, as he tells us in his history of King Henry VIII, frequently saw it. Du Bellai says, that it appeared to be one of the finest buildings in the world; and that the design of it was taken from the *Maison de l'etat*, or *Echange*, at *Colais*. Holingshed and Hall are very particular in their description of its apartments.

[p] Hall, Du Bellai, &c.

[q] Hall, Lesebure, Du Bellai.

and

and is surmounted by the figure of a young Bacchus striding on a tun, and quaffing wine out of a shell which he holds in his right hand. From the tun red wine is let down into the body of the conduit, from whence, through masks of lions heads, gilt with gold, fixed in the pannels of the second story, it runs into a large reservoir behind the parapet of the basement story, and is from thence discharged to the populace through the like masks fixed in the panels of that story [r]. Round this cistern are placed several persons in different attitudes. Some of them are catching, and others partaking of the liquor that comes from it; and by their countenances and actions, expressing its various effects from hilarity to inebriety, plainly shew, that they thoroughly understood, and made use of, the general liberty given them by the inscription placed thereon [1].

THE other conduit stands on the right of the palace gate, and is a short hexangular pillar pannelled like the former, but with this only difference, that each pannel is inlaid with grotesque scrolls of white marble. On the cornice of this pillar is an embattled parapet, within which stands a small circular column of white marble, from whence red wine, through masks of lions heads, is discharged into a cistern, hid by a parapet. On the summit stands a figure of Cupid, holding in his left hand a bow, from whence he seems to have just shot an arrow, conformable to the descrip-

[r] The Maréchal de Florence says, that the liquors which ran from these conduits during the whole time of the interview were red wine, ypercas, and water. Monf. Peiresc tells us, that the one discharged malmsey, and the other claret. And Hall's words are—"the conduyctes renne to all people, with red, white, and claret wine."

[1] Hall, in his Chronicle, fol. LXXIII. speaking of this conduit, says, "that on its head was written, in letters of Romain, in gold, FAITE BONNE CHERE QU'Y VOULDRA." This inscription is omitted by our painter, the smallness of his scale not permitting him to introduce it.

tion given by Hall [1]. In the lower part of the fore ground, but near to these conduits, two men stand, facing each other, and dressed alike. They wear on their heads high blue caps, terminated by golden tassels, and shaped like the tiara, with two cocks-tail's feathers fixed on the right side. Their habit is a yellow gown, reaching down to the calf of their legs, guarded with black lace, and trimmed with black tufted frogs. They have long scimeters by their sides, and are sounding long trumpets, to announce the near approach of the English cavalcade. On the left hand of these trumpeters are a variety of spectators, and among them two gentlemen in deep conversation with each other. These figures are much more laboured and highly finished than any of the others that are near them; and, being placed in so conspicuous a manner in the fore-ground, are, in all probability, the portraits of the painter to whom we owe this picture, and of Edward Hall, who was enjoined by King Henry to draw up the description of the interview.

In the fore-ground, on the right hand side of the picture, is the very numerous English cavalcade, described as marching out of the town of Guines; from whence proceeding by the side of the castle ditch, it enters the castle gate, by means of a bridge thrown over the ditch at a small distance from the temporary palace. The further progress of the cavalcade is not represented in this piece. But it may be supposed to have passed from the castle through the sally port, and to have pursued its way to the place of interview along the valley and by the side of the rivulet, which is there

[1] His words are, "On the other hande or syde of the gate, was set a pylster, which was of auncient Romaine work, borne with iiij Lyons of golde, the pylster wrapped in a wrethe of gold curiously wroughte and intrayled, and on the sommet of the syde pylster stode an image of the blynde god Cupide with his bowe and arrowes of love, redy, by his femyng, to stryke the younge people to love."

described as running from the neighbourhood of Ardres, and discharging itself into the ditch of Guines castle. The guns of the castle are represented as firing whilst the King passes. The advanced part of the procession is composed of the King's guard of bill-men, and their rear is brought up by several of their officers on horse back. These are followed by three ranks of men on foot, five in each rank, all of them unarmed; or, to use the language of those times, being out of defensible apparel. After them are five of Wolsey's domestics on horseback. The middlemost is one of his chaplains, dressed in a black gown, and bearing in his right hand a cross, the ensign of the cardinal's legantine authority; and on his left hand is another of the chaplains in a scarlet gown, carrying the cardinal's hat on a cushion. The person on their right hand, as also he on their left, is dressed in black, and both of them have a massy gold chain hanging down from their shoulders. On the right of all is another person dressed in a white linen habit, not much unlike a modern surplice. Whether the three last-mentioned persons here represented actually carried any ensigns of office is uncertain, as their backs are turned to the spectator. Possibly the two in black with collars are designed for the chamberlain and steward of the household to the cardinal, who is known to have imitated royalty in all things. These are succeeded by two persons on horseback, cloathed in orange-coloured gowns, and supported on their right and left by a mace-bearer dressed in crimson.

AFTER them march two others on horseback, with black bonnets on their heads, and gold chains round their necks. These likewise are supported on their right and left by a mace-bearer dressed in a sanguine-coloured habit [u].

[u] "Gentlemen, Squires, Knights, and Barons, rode before the King, and Bishops also." Hall's Chron.

THEN

THEN Sir Thomas Writches, or Wriothesley [x], garter king at arms, bare-headed, and wearing the tabard of the order. He is mounted on a pycbald horse, richly trapped and caparisoned; and is supported on his left hand by a serjeant at arms or mace-bearer, mounted on a black horse, and followed by

THOMAS GREY, Marquis of Dorset, bare-headed, carrying in his hand the sword of state in the sheath, upright. He is dressed in a gown of cloth of gold, over which is suspended the collar of the order of the garter, and is mounted on a beautiful dun horse, richly trapped and caparisoned. By the side of his horse run a brace of milk white greyhounds, with collars round their necks.

It seems somewhat extraordinary, that the painter should introduce these animals into a picture of such solemn state and triumph as that we are now describing; and more particularly so, when we consider the conspicuous part of it which he hath here assigned to them. Although we may not be able to discover his real motives for such conduct, yet it is certain that they were placed here for some better reason than merely that of ornamenting the picture. They might be intended to allude either to some office held by the Marquis under the crown; to the king's family descent; or to some other point of history. Anciently the greyhound was used as a symbol of nobility; and as such first accompanied, and then succeeded, the hawk, which we see placed on the fists of great personages, as represented in very ancient statues, and on seals, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries [y]. We likewise find the greyhound introduced in other pictures of ceremonials, as in that of Lewis de Bruges presenting a book to

[x] He is so called in the Patent of the office of Garter. See Rot. Pat. 1 Henry VIII. p. 2. m. 19.

[y] Vredius de Sigillis Com. Fland. Montfaucon, Monumens de la Mon. Fran. Sandford, Gen. Hist. Spelman's Aspilogia.

Charles VIII. of France, sitting on his throne, and surrounded by his nobility; and that of the court of Francis I. both of which are engraved by Montfaucon [x]. We also find them accompanying Harold in his embassy to the Duke of Normandy, in more places than one, in the Bayeux tapestry already mentioned. A greyhound Argent accolled Gules was the left supporter of the arms of King Henry VII, which supporter he bore in right of his Queen, Elizabeth of York, who was descended from the family of the Nevilles, by Anne, her grandmother, the daughter of Ralph Earl of Westmorland, wife of Richard, Duke of York. Henry VIII, likewise, at the beginning of his reign, bore his arms, supported on the right side by a red dragon, and on the left by a greyhound. Afterwards indeed he discontinued the greyhound, and supported his shield on the dexter side with one of the lions of England, and transposed the red dragon to the sinister side of his escutcheon. However, in his great seals, as well that made on his coming to the crown, as in that fabricated in the year 1541, he had underneath his horse a greyhound current, with a collar about his neck, to shew his descent, by his mother Queen Elizabeth, from the royal house of York [a].

BUT to return to the picture.

THE Marquis of Dorset is followed by six of the yeomen of the guard on foot, bearing the partizans on their shoulders. Their habit is scarlet, guarded and laced on the skirts and sleeves with garter blue velvet [b]; and on their breasts and backs is the Union Rose, ensigned with the crown royal embroidered in gold.

[x] *Monumens de la Monarch. Fran. tom. IV.*

[a] *Sandford's Genealog. History.*—As to this symbolical greyhound, it may not be foreign to the purpose to mention the large greyhound, a countermark, on Edward the Sixth's shoulder on one of his shillings, Plate ix. N^o 15. of Folkes's coins.

[b] The gold lace intermixed with stripes of blue velvet, as now used, was not affixed as a trimming to their uniform until a long time after the reign of Henry VIII. when they were likewise allowed to wear the shoulder-belt.

THEN

THEN come two of the King's Henchmen, or pages on foot, the one bare-headed, the other with his bonnet on his head, and both of them dressed alike in crimson jackets, embroidered on the back with the Union Rose, between a greyhound and a dragon. Their breeches and the sleeves of their doublets are large, flared, and drawn out in puffs of fine cambric at every cut. The sleeves are also open on the back part, and their hose and shoes are white.

THE King's Majesty, mounted on a stately white courser, most richly caparisoned, the trappings, breast-piece, head-stalls, reins, and stirrups, being covered with wrought gold, highly embossed [c]. The King hath on his head a black velvet hat with a white feather laid on the upper side of the brim. On the under side thereof runs a broad circlet or lacing, composed of rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones, intermixed with pearls. He is apparelled in a pleated garment of cloth of gold, over a jacket of rose-coloured velvet [d]. From his shoulders hangs a beautiful large collar, composed of rubies and branches of pearls set alternately [e].

[c] "The courser which his grace rode on was trapped in a marvelous vesture of a newe devised fashion, the trapper was of fine golde in bullion curiously wrought, pounced and sette with anticke worke of Romaine figures."—Hall's Chron. fol. lxxvi. Du Bellai says, it was a Spanish Genet.

[d] "His Grace was appareled in a garment of clothe of silver, of damaske ribbed with clothe of golde, so thicke as mighte bee. The garment was large, and plited very thicke, and canteled of very good intaile, of suche shape and makynge that it was marvelous to behold."—Hall, *ibid*.

[e] This is that *inestimable great collar of ballast Rubies*, as it was called, which, by order of King Charles I, was sold beyond the seas by the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Holland.—See in Rymer's *Foedera*, vol. XVIII. p. 236, the warrant directing the delivery of this Collar to those noblemen, which collar is there said to be of great value, and had long continued, as it were, in a continual descent, for many years together, with the crown of England.—This Collar likewise appears on several pictures of Henry VIII, and on a medal of him in Evelyn. See Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, vol. II. p. 66.

and on his breast is a rich jewel of St. George, suspended by a ribbon of the order. His boots are of yellow leather, and he hath a small whip in his right hand.

ON the King's left, but in a line parallel with him, rides Cardinal Wolsey, habited in a gown of violet-coloured velvet, and mounted upon a stately mule, harnessed with trappings, headstall, reins, and a broad breastpiece of black velvet embroidered with gold. His page, who is here distinguished by having a cardinal's red hat embroidered on the breast of his doublet, is walking before him bare-headed. On each side of the King's horse are two other pages, the one walking at a small distance behind the other. Three are bare-headed, but the fourth hath his bonnet on his head; and all of them are in the same livery. These are supported on their right and left by nine yeomen of the guard, three in a rank, dressed in their uniform, and bearing their partizans shouldered [f].

IMMEDIATELY after the King, follow four of the principal persons of his court, riding abreast. That on his right is Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, wearing the collar of the order of the garter, and mounted on a white horse, richly caparisoned. Next to him, on his left, is Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex, who executed the office of Earl Marshal *pro tempore*. He is dressed in the collar of the order, and bears in his right hand a silver rod tipp'd with enamel, being the badge of his office. Next to him is an elderly person, with a longish face, and a very forked beard, likewise wearing the collar of the order. The outermost

[f] —“attending on the kynges grace of England, was the master of the horse, by name Sir Henry Guylford, leading the kynges spare horse, the whiche horse was trapped in a mantellet front and backe piece, all of fine golde in fers of devise, with tasselles on cordelles pendaunt. The fade'l was of the same sute and worke, so was the heddestall and raynes.”—Hall's Chron. The painter hath unluckily omitted to represent them in the picture.

person

person toward the left hath only a gold chain hanging down from his shoulders [g].

THREE are followed by two other rows of noblemen, four in each row [b]. Amongst those in the first row is one with a long lank visage, and a forked beard, reaching down almost to the pit of his stomach. His bonnet is ornamented with a string of pearls, and hath a white feather spread on its brim. His doublet is scarlet, and the sleeves of his jacket, which are large and full, are white linen cloth. One of those in the second row is certainly intended for Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. On the right hand side of these march six more ranks of yeomen of the guard.

ALL the before-mentioned principal figures, represented as riding in the cavalcade, are undoubtedly portraits painted from the life, as in all probability many other figures in this picture likewise are. That in particular of King Henry is a very strong likeness, high finished, and in no way inferior to the celebrated head of that monarch which was painted by Holbein, and is now in the royal palace at Kensington. Those of the Marquis of Dorset, Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, Henry Bourchier Earl of Essex, and Cardinal Wolsey, have the greatest and most striking resemblance of their portraits now remaining in different collections.

The ranks last mentioned are followed by a great number of others composed of the nobility and royal attendants on horseback, who are succeeded by a large party of billmen. The rear of these is brought up by a very numerous and uninterrupted train of demilances and others, who form a continued line of march from the back of the parish church of Guines, and are represented as

[g] Quære, if not George Nevil Lord Abergavenny, and George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Steward, who, as Hall hath it, "rode with the king."

[b] "The Dukes, Marques, and Erles, gave attendance next to the King." Hall.

passing from thence through the market place, amidst a crowd of spectators.

NEAR the foot of the bridge leading into the castle, and by the side of the ditch, is a large group of persons attentively viewing the cavalcade. Amongst these is a respectable grey-headed man, with a remarkable long white beard, dressed in a scarlet uniform, laced with gold, and having the letters H. R. embroidered on his breast. He holds his bonnet in his right hand, which, as well as his left, are held up as admiring the appearance of his royal master, on whom he looks with an air and countenance expressive of the greatest pleasure and astonishment. This figure is much more highly finished than that of any other person placed near him. From which circumstance, and the singularity of his habit, it may reasonably be inferred, that the painter designed it for the portrait of some remarkable old servant of the Crown, at that time well known and respected.

IN the back ground of the middle part of the picture is seen the place of the interview, represented as a spacious circular plain, situated on the summit of an elevation between the town of Guines and the road leading from thence to the vale of Arden or Andres. It appears to be marked out by white camp-colours or pennons, and surrounded by a great number of demi-lances, and other guards and attendants of both nations on horseback, facing towards its center [i]. Within the area of this plain, and at a considerable distance from the camp-colours, is a circular line of round tents and square pavilions placed alternately, and communicating with each other. The coverings and curtains of these tents and pavilions are painted green and white, being the favourite co-

[i] When the King came to the bank of Arden, then every gentleman, as they rode, took his place, and stood still, side by side, their regard or face towards the vale. Hall.

lours of the house of Tudor, and the same wherewith Henry VII. tinged the field or ground of one of the banners which he set up in Bosworth field, and whereon was painted a red dragon, in allusion to his descent from Cadwallader [4]. In the center of these tents and pavilions is pitched a large single tent, covered with cloth of gold, flowered with red, and lined with blue velvet, powdered with *Fleurs de Lys*. On its top stands a gold or gilt figure of St. George trampling on the dragon. The curtains are thrown back, and discover the two monarchs Henry and Francis alone, and embracing one another [5]. They are drawn somewhat larger than the surrounding figures, and are so highly finished, that the resemblance of each is perfectly well expressed. Before the front of this tent stand several attendants, as also the masters of the horse to the two Kings, each holding the couler of his sovereign: that of King Henry is white, and that of Francis is dun.

Our painter's strict observance of history and chorography, and his diligence in exactly marking the most minute circumstances that happened on the occasion which gave subject to his picture, is not less remarkable here than in the other parts of his performance. By Wolsey's regulations for the interview, Henry was to go half a mile out of Guines, but still keeping within its territories. According to the scale of the picture, the place of interview stands therein exactly at that distance from Guines. In our painting it is represented as on a rising ground, just before the entrance into the vale of Andres, in which part of

[4] Henry VII. on his arrival at London, offered up his banner in the church of St. Paul, as a trophy of his victory. In commemoration whereof he instituted the office of Rouge Dragon Pursuivant. The like banner is on his tomb in Westminster Abbey.

[5] Florenge says, that the Cardinal and the Chancellor Du Prat were in the tent. But all the English Historians agree, that the two Kings were alone.

that

that village is shewn. In the Chorographical Map of the government of Calais, made by the Chevalier Beaurain, in the year 1766, such an eminence extending itself from the morais on the north to the Bois de Gulnes is laid down at about six hundred toises south-east of Gulnes [m]. In the same Map the town of Ardres is described as situate on the brow of a small rise three leagues south-east of Gulnes; and in the picture it is represented in the like situation, and at the same distance. All the camp colours being white, some persons, from a supposed improbability of the English monarch's suffering the place of interview to be entirely marked out by pennons of a tincture solely and notoriously used by the French, may be inclined to think, that this is a blunder committed by the painter. But this, instead of being an error, is a further instance of the painter's accuracy. By Cardinal Wolsey's award, commissioners of the one and the other party were appointed to assign and mark out the place of interview. These commissioners having accordingly met, and made choice of a proper spot, the method of marking it out, by setting up camp colours, was not only obvious, but became necessary, and more particularly so for the guidance of those who had the care of the common tents, none of which were to be dressed within the boundary of the place of interview. To this end, Richard Gibson, one of the English commissioners, by King Henry's command, set up four pennons, paned white and green, at that time the tinctures used by the English. This gave so great an offence to Monsieur Chatillon, one of the principal persons in the French court, that, as Hall expresses it [n], he, in a rigorous and cruel manner, threw them down; whereupon high words ensued between him and Gibson, which was nearly productive of very serious consequences.

[m] See the map prefixed to the second vol. of Lefebure's Hist. de la Ville de Calais.

[n] Fol. LXXIX.

However,

However, the Earl of Essex, then temporary Earl Marshal, interfering, the dispute was ended; and, at his commandment, says Hall, the wrong done to the English was patiently suffered, and the white, or French colours, were left standing by themselves [o].

At the top of the picture, towards the left, is a slight view of the town of Ardres, from whence Francis and his train issued [p]. The whole length of the valley between that town and the place of interview appears to be filled with French soldiery compleatly armed; whilst, on the other hand, there are not any English troops represented as marching from Guines; the whole body of Henry's train being drawn up on one side of the place of interview. The painter, by thus shewing the number of French soldiers to be greater than that of the English, evidently alludes to the doubt which, during King Henry's march, was raised, as our historians

[o] Hall, *ibid.*

[p] The town of Ardres stands within the Comté of Guines, and is about three leagues south-east from Calais. It was originally founded in the year 1069, by Arnold de Salve, who, having married to his first wife Adella de Salvette or Salvaffe, Lady of Ardres, and widow of Herebert de Fiennes, pulled down her castle of Salvaffe, and removing the materials into the plain of Ardres, there built a fortress for himself, and several houses, in order to invite inhabitants to make a settlement at that place. After his wife's death, by permission of his Lord Paramount, the Count de Guines, he granted several franchises to the new-comers, built the parish church, and founded therein six secular canons. In 1093, he walled round and fortified the town, and erected within it a magnificent castle, in form of a labyrinth, which is fully described by Lambert de Ardres, in his History of that place. By the treaty of Bretigny, in 1360, this town, together with the whole Comté of Guines, was ceded by John King of France to Edward III, King of England. In 1377, it was besieged and taken by the French. In 1522, it was taken by the Flemings, and retaken by the English. And in 1562, the townsmen obtained a confirmation of all privileges and franchises theretofore granted to them by the Counts, their ancient Lords. Since that time it hath constantly belonged to the French, is well fortified, and is one of their chief places of defence on the frontiers next Flanders. Duchesne's *Histoire de la Maison de Guines*, p. 80, 88, &c. Lefebvre, *Histoire de la Ville de Calais*, tom. II. p. 351.

assure us, by several of his attendants, whether he should proceed or not. For Nevil, Lord Abergavenny, having been in the French quarters, and suspecting Francis of treachery, came hastily to King Henry, and bid him be aware; for the French party was double as many as that of the English. This intelligence staggered the King's resolutions, until the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Steward, said, "I myself have been there; and the Frenchmen be more in fear of you and your subjects, than your subjects be of them; therefore, if I was worthy to give you council, your grace should march forward." Whereupon the King immediately replied, "So we intend, my Lord;" and immediately went on.

SOMEWHAT lower down in the picture, and nearer to Guines than the place of interview, is a group of tents, covered with linen cloth, some paned green and white, and others red and white. These are designed to represent the tents which, Hall and the Marechal de Florenge tell us, were pitched near the rivulet which runs to the gate of Guines, for the lodging of such of the English train as could not be accommodated within the town, on account of the smallness of that place [g].

On a rising ground, between the last mentioned tents and the back front of the temporary palace, stands a large and sumptuous pavilion, composed of one long and two round tents, the whole covered with cloth of gold, flowered with black. On the finyall of each of the round tents is a vane, charged with the arms of France and England, quarterly. This is that grand pavilion, wherein Henry and Katherine frequently entertained at dinner the French King and Queen, and the principal nobility attendant on each court. At a small distance from this pavilion

[g] "For that the town of Guines was little; and, that all the noblemen might not there be lodged, they set up tents in the field, to the number of twenty-eight hundred sundry lodgings, which was a good sight." Hall.

is a view of the culinary offices set up on the plain, and used for preparing those sumptuous banquets. They consist of a large group of ovens, at which sundry bakers are busied; and two spacious tents, the fronts of both which are thrown open, and shew the one made use of as a boiling office, and the other destined for roasting the meats: in which services several cooks appear to be employed. From these kitchens fourteen yeomen of the guard, each carrying a covered dish, are going towards the royal pavilion, and preceded by George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Steward of the household, bearing his white staff, attended by a gentleman, wearing a fash, which hangs down from his right shoulder to the middle of his left thigh, where it is tied in an elegant knot.

NEAR to the ovens stands a cabaret, at the door whereof divers persons are drinking. And at a little distance from it is a lady, carried in a horse litter, covered with crimson velvet embroidered with gold. She is preceded by a groom, and followed by two other ladies, and a man servant. The lady in the litter turns her face out of the window, and seems to be talking to a page, who appears extremely obsequious and attentive to her. Just behind the page is another lady masked, and on horseback, attended by a female servant. These ladies seem to be persons of great dignity; she in the litter may be one of the Queens coming incognito, to view the culinary and other offices.

BENEATH these, and in a line with the temporary palace, is pitched an open circular tent of white cloth, embroidered with blue tracery, over which is an Union Rose, and a Fleur de Lys. The curtains of this tent are thrown open, and discover a magnificent sideboard of plate, and a table spread. At the upper end of this table sits an elderly gentleman; on one side is a lady, and at the lower end another gentleman. They are partaking of a

repast, which is served up by several attendants. This tent, by its vicinity to the temporary palace, and the culinary offices, by the appearance of the guests, and the magnificence of the side-board, was, in all likelihood, that of the Lord Steward of the household.

In the adjacent fields, and at a small distance behind this last-mentioned tent, are pitched several others, designed for the use of sutlers, and covered with green and white and red and white linen cloth.

It hath been before observed, that, as soon as the interview was agreed on, and the time fixed for that solemnity, Orleans, king at arms for France, came to the court of England, and there made a proclamation, that the King of England and the French King, in a camp between Ardres and Guines, with eighteen aids, in June next ensuing, should abide all comers, being gentlemen, at the tilt, tournay, and barriers; and that the like proclamation was by Clarenceux, king at arms of England, made in the courts of France and Burgundy, and in other courts in Germany and Italy. Our painter therefore, in order that no one circumstance, contributing either to the splendor or honour of this interview, might escape memory, in the back ground, and at the extremity on the left hand side of this picture, hath given a view of the lifts or camp which was set apart for the performance of the jousts and feats of arms appointed to be held on that occasion; and, according to Hall's account, containing within their area a space of nine hundred feet in length, and three hundred and twenty feet in breadth [9]. On the left side of these lifts is a scaffold, or long gallery, for the reception of the royal personages and their attendants; and the whole, except the entrance, is fenced with a rail and barrier, guarded by a great number of demi-lance men

[9] Fol. LXXIX.

and

and others on horseback, completely armed [7]. The entrance into the lists is guarded on one side by French soldiers, clothed in a blue and yellow uniform, with a salamander, the badge of Francis I [8], embroidered thereon. And on the other side it is kept by the English yeomen of the guard, holding their partizans in their hands. On a rise at the left hand corner of these lists, and close to the gallery end, stands a large artificial tree of honour. The trunk of this tree is wrapped round with a mantle of red velvet, embroidered with gold; and upon its branches, agreeable to the practice at the time of those romantic exercises, hang the shields of arms of the two challengers, those of their respective aids, and the tables of the challenges. Under them are the shields of arms, and subscriptions of the several answers. This tree, as we are informed by Historians, being thirty-four feet in height, spreading one hundred and twenty-nine feet, and from bough to bough forty-three feet, was composed of the Frame-

[5] Du Bellai says, that the lists had a barrier on the side of the French King, and another on that of Henry. The English archers and captain of Henry's guard kept the French King's side; and the captain of the French King's guards, his archers, and the Swiss, kept the English King's side; and suffered none to enter but the combatants.

[6] The habits of Francis I's guards are thus represented by Father Montfaucon, at the end of his fourth volume of *Monumens de la Monarchie Française*; and that the salamander was the symbol of that king is evident, not only from the relation of the French writers of his time, but by the figure of it, which we see carved in several parts of the castles built by him, as well as stamp'd on his coin, several pieces of which are described in *Le Traité Historique des Monnoies de France*, par le Ollave. Father Daniel and others affirm, that Charles Count Angouleme, father of Francis, had assumed this symbol: but that the device, *Nutrit et aviluit*, was added by Francis. Montfaucon hath engraven in his fourth vol. a medal of Francis I, with this legend, *Francis Duc de Valois, Comte d'Angoulême, ou dixième au de son age*. On the reverse a salamander in the fire, with a legend in Italian; the meaning whereof is, "I nourish the good, and extinguish the guilty."

boisier.

hoisier, or *Raspberry*, the badge of Francis I, and of the *Aubepine*, or *Hawthorn*, Henry's badge, artificially twined and twisted together, as emblematical both of the mutual love and friendship then subsisting between the two monarchs; and of their union as challengers in the several exercises of arms then to be performed [1]. We are at a loss to discover the reason and occasion of Francis's assuming the *Raspberry* for his badge: but it is well known, that Henry chose the *Hawthorn* as his cognizance, in imitation of his father Henry VII, who bore the same, inclosing a crown, in allusion to his being crowned in Bosworth field with the diadem of Richard III, which, after the battle, was found there concealed in a Hawthorn bush [2].

In the gallery stand the two Kings; Francis on the right hand, and Henry on the left: and, at some distance from them, are the two reigning Queens, attended by the ladies of their respective courts, represented as spectators of the jousts. The front of that part of the gallery appropriated for the reception of Henry and Francis is covered with a carpet of cloth of gold, and the rail before the Queen's is hung with rich tapestry. Within the area are two combatants armed cap-a-pe, mounted on horses, richly bated and barbed, and tilting against each other [3]. Near them is a herald, picking

[1] The leaves of this artificial tree are said to have been made of green damask, the branches, boughs, and withered leaves, of cloth of gold, and the flowers and fruits of silver and Venice gold. In this manner they undoubtedly were represented by the painter; but the foliage and branches, as also most of the shields of arms, have been miserably defaced by the unskilfulness of some person formerly entrusted with the cleaning of the picture, so that little more than their out-lines remain. Henry's shield suspended by a red ribbon, and some few others, are however visible.

[2] Sandford's Genealog. Hist.

[3] Larrey, in his History, tom. II. p. 139. says, that on the 11th day of the interview the two Kings entered the lists, and tilted against each other: That each

of

picking up the pieces of a broken spear, to which, by the law of arms, he was entitled as his fee [y].

NEAR to the lists is another Group of tents, but not so numerous as the former; they being the tents in which the combatant in the jousts and tournays harnessed and prepared themselves for the conflict.

THESE lists appear to be equidistant from Guines and Ardres, and are so placed by the painter, in strict conformity to the award made by Wolsey in regard thereto [z]. As the upper part of the back ground of this picture, towards the left hand, gives a bird's-eye view of the town of Ardres, from whence the French cavalcade is proceeding to the place of interview, so the remainder is employed in exhibiting a distant view of the adjacent country. Here again the painter hath given fresh and circumstantial proofs of his correctness and fidelity. The whole landscape, independent of its being enriched with a variety of figures, farm houses, mills, cottages, woods, cattle, sheep, fowls, &c. all of them finished as highly as if they were the principals of the piece, exhibits, and in the most correct manner distinguishes, the high from the low lands, points out the real situation, circumstances, and aspect, of each plot of land, and describes the real surface of the country in-

of them broke several spears, but without its being possible to determine which of them had the advantage. Our historians do not mention this circumstance; but there is, at Lord Montague's, at Cowdry, in Sussex, a small picture, exquisitely well painted, in which Henry and Francis, each in compleat armour, with their regal crowns on their helmets, and mounted on horses fully harnessed, are represented at the tilt with each other.

[y] *Modii Pandectarum Triumphales*. Segar's Honor Civil and Military. *Traité de Chevalerie*. *Da vrai Theatre d'Honn. et de Chev. &c.*

[z] - - - - *Ordinamus et declaramus quod locus ubi dictus armorum congressus fiat et strenuitatis experimentum capietur, deputabitur inter Ardres et Guines per commissarios hincinde deputandos assignandos.* Rymer's *Foedera*, vol. xiv.

cluded in it in so true a manner, that the whole painting may as properly be styled a picturesque map as an historical picture. Of this every man will be convinced, who is either acquainted with that part of Picardy, or will be at the pains to compare the Windsor picture with the Chevalier de Beaurain's before-mentioned Chorographical Map of the Government of Calais, wherein that excellent geographer hath given the elevation, declination, form, circumstances, and apparent superficies, of every piece of ground within its limits, in a manner so exactly correspondent with the painting, as plainly demonstrates our painter's accuracy; at the same time that it shews, that little or no alteration hath been made in the face of that part of the country since the reign of Henry VIII.

THE horizon in this picture is so remarkably high, that it cannot escape the notice of any, even the most transient, inspector. To this, in all likelihood, the painter was necessarily compelled, in order that he might the better introduce that great variety of subjects of which it is composed.

THE Marechal de Florenge mentions a circumstance, which, if true, must have been very extraordinary [a]. He says, that on the 27th day of June, the last of the interview, whilst the two monarchs were hearing mass performed pontifically by the Cardinal of York, in a chapel erected within the lists, a rocket, in form of an artificial dragon, four toises in length and seemingly full of fire, was thrown up in the neighbourhood of Ardres, and with a velocity equal to that of a man running on foot, in an undulating course at the height of two hundred yards, passed from thence over the chapel, and so on to Guines, where it burst. The absurdity of almost every part of this story is however so glaring, that little or no credit can be given to it. No

[a] *Monumens de la Monarchie Française*, tom. IV.

one, who is acquainted with the pyrotechnic art, can suppose it capable of continuing a piece of fire-work through so great a distance as that between Ardres and Guînes. The only principle upon which fire-works can be conducted in an horizontal direction, is that of a line rocket; and it would be ridiculous to imagine, that a line, three leagues in length, the distance between Ardres and Guînes, could be either drawn tight enough for such purpose, or supported at so great a height. Further, were it granted, that all this might be done, the quantity of gunpowder and other combustible matter necessary for driving on so large a body as this dragon is said to have had, and to keep it burning during the time of its progress, must be of so great a weight, as to break down any conductor upon which it could be placed. The total silence, as to this fiery dragon, of all other writers, as well French as English, who give an account of the interview, is a further argument, was any such necessary, of the falsity of the Marschal's assertion. The utmost that can reasonably be supposed on this head is, that some large fire-work, in the form of a dragon, or salamander, was, on the 27th of June, played off near Ardres, by order of Francis, either in compliment to King Henry, or to announce to the public the solemn purpose for which these monarchs were then met.

I SHOULD not have taken notice of this passage in Florenge's *Memoirs*, had there not been the figure of a dragon, represented towards the top of the picture now under consideration, as flying in the air, and hovering over the English cavalcade, as it is passing under the walls of Guînes castle, and which figure some persons may conceive was there introduced to note and perpetuate the remembrance of the fire-work before-mentioned, and as an evidence of its having actually been exhibited. Had this really been the case, the position of the dragon must have been reversed from that which the painter hath given to it. Its head would have

been towards Guînes, and its tail towards Ardres, from whence Florenge says it came ; whereas the dragon in our picture is represented with its head pointed towards Ardres, and seems hovering, as if attendant upon Henry in his march from Guînes to the place of interview. It may be conjectured, with a much greater air of probability, that the painter, desirous of shewing every token of respect and honour to the English Monarch, here introduced this dragon volant, in allusion to King Henry's boasted descent from the British King Cadwallader, upon which descent the family of Tudor always valued itself. Our more ancient Kings had a like fondness for exhibiting the badge or figure of a dragon. Henry III, in the 28th year of his reign, commanded Edward Fitz-Odo to make a dragon, in manner of a standard or ensign, of red samit, to be embroidered with gold, and his tongue to appear as though continually moving, and his eyes of sapphire, or other stones, agreeable to him, to be placed in the Abbey Church of Westminster, against his, the King's, coming thither [d]. And in the family picture of King Henry V, which was the altar-piece of the chapel in his palace of Shene, is a dragon flying in the air.

The picture we have been describing, which is five feet six inches high, by eleven feet three inches in width, hath generally been ascribed to the pencil of Hans Holbein ; and in the list of the King's pictures at Windsor, deposited in the Lord Chamberlain's office, is said to have been painted by him. This however is certainly a mistake. Holbein did not arrive in England till near six years after the time of the interview, a period too late for him to be supposed engaged in painting this record of Henry's magnificence, for the finishing of which performance that monarch could not but be extremely anxious. Should it be urged, that, although Holbein did not visit England till long after the interview, yet that he might

[d] Rot. Claus. de eodem anno. Dart's Antiq. of Westm. Abbey, vol. I. p. 26.

have

have been present at that solemnity, and there have painted, or at least made sketches for painting, this piece; it may justly be answered, that the great number of excellent English portraits introduced into the picture, and the exact and accurate representation therein of every component part of its subjects, renders such a supposition inadmissible. Add thereto, that the style, colouring, and manner of painting, observable in the picture, widely, if not totally, differ from those of Holbein.—Mr. Walpole, who barely mentions this picture, says, that it is commonly supposed to be painted by Holbein, but is beneath his excellence [c].

In the same room with it, is an excellent picture of Henry VIII. and his family, not taken notice of by Mr. Walpole, but evidently painted by the same hand, and ascribed to Holbein, not only in the Lord Chamberlain's list of the Windsor pictures, but also in the catalogue of those of King Charles the First, printed some years since by Bathoe. A careful examination of these two pieces may perhaps satisfy an observer, that, if Holbein had painted them, they would not be derogations from his reputation. Henry employed several painters besides Holbein. We are told, that Anthony Toto, Jerome di Trevisi, Quintin Matsis, Johannes Corvus, Gerard Luke Horneband, Bartholomew Penne, and others, were in his service. One of these [d], as Vertue observes, might be the painter of this interview. The name of the painter however, could it positively be ascertained, is quite immaterial, as the intrinsic merit of the piece alone demands our attention.

It may not be improper in this place to observe, that the head of King Henry VIII. appears to have been cut out of this picture, and to have been afterwards restored. The case was this; after

[c] Anecdotes of Painting in England, vol. I. p. 57.

[d] There were in being, at this very time, the following excellent painters, viz. Peter, of Perugia; Lewis Signopelli of Corona; Leonardi de Vinci, and Andrea de Sarto, of Florence; Derick of Harleem, and Roger of Brussels. Why might not one of these have been employed on this occasion? for some of them, it is very probable, were present at so extraordinary an exhibition. W. N.

the death of King Charles I, a French agent expressed his desire of purchasing this picture from the commissioners appointed by the parliament for the sale of the then late King's goods. Philip, Earl of Pembroke, who was a great admirer and a most excellent judge of painting, and considered this valuable picture as an honourable piece of furniture in an English palace, came privately into the royal apartments, cut out that part of the picture where King Henry's head was painted, and, putting it into his pocket-book, retired unnoticed. The French agent, finding the picture mutilated, and that in so material a part, declined all further thoughts of purchasing it. By this means it remained in the palace till Cromwell, becoming possessed of the sole power, put a stop to any further dispersion of the royal collection. After the Restoration, the then Earl of Pembroke delivered the mutilated piece to King Charles II. who immediately ordered it to be restored to its place. By looking at the picture sideways against the light, the insertion of the piece is very visible.

It would be unpardonable to close this dissertation without duly acknowledging the great civility and kind endeavours of the Count de Guines, Ambassador of France at this Court, on the occasion of its being drawn up. The interview between King Henry VIII, and Francis I, being considered as a remarkable and interesting circumstance in the French Annals, as well as in those of England, it was imagined, some painting or sculpture thereof, exclusive of the bas-relievos at Rouen, might be preserved somewhere in France; as also that one or other of the libraries of that kingdom might contain some hitherto inedited description or account of that triumph; or at least furnish materials for the further elucidation of the Windsor picture. With this view several queries were drawn up, and put into the hands of the Count de Guines, with a request, that he would communicate them to some of his learned countrymen,

countrymen, and procure such answers thereto, as their researches might enable them to give. The count in the most obliging manner undertook the task; and the answers which he received to those queries fully demonstrated the attention paid by that Nobleman to the fulfilling his promise, as well as the diligence exerted by several of his friends in compliance with his directions; but at the same time they gave the strongest assurance, that the Rouen carvings were the only monuments of the interview remaining in France; and that no written memorials relative thereto, except such as have been printed, are to be found either in the public or private libraries of that kingdom.

XXV. *Observations on the Inscriptions upon three ancient Marbles [a], said to have been brought from Smyrna. and now in the British Museum. In a Letter from Thomas Tyrwhitt, Esq; to Matthew Duane, Esq; Communicated by Mr. Duane.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, July 9. 1772.

THE first of these inscriptions, which is as follows,



Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ

ΙΣΙΑΔΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΙΑΔΑ,

has been published by Montfaucon, Suppl. T. v. p. 25. and is thus translated by him: *Populus Isiadem Metrodori filiam Laodicenam hoc monumento donavit.* He supposes, that the words Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ, encircled by a crown of laurel, signify that the monument was erected at the public expence; but they probably

[a] These marbles, which have since been engraved by order of the Society, Pl. XI. were purchased by Mr. Duane and Mr. Tyrwhitt, at an auction in London, in June 1772, and were presented by them to the Museum. Several other marbles with inscriptions (chiefly Latin) were sold at the same auction; and it were to be wished, for the improvement of this branch of Literature, that they were lodged in the same public repository, or at least that the possessors would favour the Society and the world with exact copies of them.

mean



mean no more than that the deceased had, upon some occasion or other, had a crown voted to her by the people. They certainly mean no more upon the following monument, where the inscription testifies that the monument was erected at the expense of the family, and not of the public.

II.



ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΝ

(Sic)

ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΝΟΣ

ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΝ

ΑΜΦΙΛΟΧΟΥ

ΤΟΝ ΠΙΝΥΤΤΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΟΧΟΝ ΕΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΑΙΣ

(Sic)

ΑΝΕΡΑ ΓΗΡΑΛΗΟΥ ΤΕΡΜΑΤ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΒΙΟΥ

ΑΙΔΕΩ ΝΥΧΙΟΙΟ ΜΕΛΑΣ ΤΡΕΔΕΞΑΤΟ ΚΟΛΠΟΣ

ΕΤΣΕΒΕΩΝ Θ ΟΣΙΗΝ ΕΥΝΑΣΕΝ ΕΣ ΚΑΙΣΙΗΝ

(Sic)

ΜΝΗΜΑΔ ΑΠΟΦΘΙΜΕΝΟΙΟ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΡΗΧΗΝ ΑΤΑΡΠΟΝ

ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΑΙΣ ΚΕΑΝΗ ΤΕΤΕΕ ΕΥΝ ΕΤΝΕΤΙΔΙ

ΞΕΙΝΕ ΣΤΑ ΛΕΙΣΑΣ ΔΗΜΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΤΙΕΑ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

ΔΗΜΟΚΛΕΑ ΣΤΕΙΧΟΙΣ ΑΒΑΒΕΣ ΙΧΝΟΣ ΕΧΩΝ.

which may be thus translated :

Populus

Democlem

Democlis (Coronat)

Populus

Democlem

Amphiloebi (Coronat)

Prudentem

*Prudentem in omnibus & eminentem inter cives
 Virum, longaevae terminos tenentem vitae,
 Inferni obscuri niger suscepit sinus,
 Et piorum sacrâ recumbere-fecit in sede.
 Monumentum autem defuncti juxta asperam viam
 Hoc filius venerandâ struxit cum uxore.
 Hospes, tu vero, cum jusseris salvere [b] Democlis filium
 Democlem, pergas inoffensum gressum servans.*

This inscription too has been published by Montfaucon, in the place above mentioned, from the papers of Tournefort and of the Chevalier de Camilli. However he has not given the true reading of the last line. Instead of—ΔΗΜΟΚΛΕΑ ΕΤΕΙΧΟΙΣ—he has printed—ΔΗΜΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΤΤΧΟΙΣ—of which (not to mention the false quantity) it is impossible to make any sense. The reading of the marble is plainly as I have transcribed it.

THE explanation which Montfaucon has thought fit to give of this inscription is as follows: “ Cette inscription est à Smyrne.
 “ Cette ville voulut honorer deux hommes de meme nom, ap-
 “ pellés tous deux Democlés; l’un fils de Democlés, & l’autre
 “ d’Amphiloque. C’étoient apparemment deux hommes d’un
 “ égal merite: & comme ils portoient tous deux le même nom,
 “ la ville qui fit leur tombeau à frais communs, mit leurs noms à

[b] v. γ. *cum jusseris salvere.* The literal translation would be—*cum accineris salvere.* The expression is a very singular one, and scarcely to be illustrated by any other exactly similar. It may, perhaps, in some measure be accounted for, by supposing that this salutation of the deceased was usually performed in a kind of chant, approaching to that modulation of the voice which is called singing. By a like abuse of the same word Poets and Prophets are commonly said *audire*, and *canere*; not because their poems or oracles were really sung, but because they were generally pronounced with greater varieties of time and tone, than can be admitted within the compass of what Aristotle [Poet. c. 4.] calls τὸν λαλῶν ἀρμονίαν—the modulation of discourse.

“ côté

“côté l’un de l’autre ; & au dessous huit vers élegiaques, qui se
 “pouvoient également appliquer à l’un & à l’autre Democlès,
 “& qui semblent pourtant se devoir appliquer plus particu-
 “lièrement à celui de qui le pere avoit le même nom.” But I
 think it is very plain from ver. 5, 6, of the inscription, that this
 monument was erected, not by the city of Smyrna, but by the son
 of the deceased, together with the wife, either of himself or of
 the deceased ; for the original is capable of either sense ; and it
 is as plain, from the whole tenor of the eight elegiac verses,
 that they speak singly of one Democles, the son of Democles,
 and, as I suppose, the grandson of Amphiloehus. This supposi-
 tion, I think, will help us to account for the two crowns. It
 is not improbable that Democles the father might have received
 a crown, by a vote of the people, as Democles the son did after
 him ; and in that case it was very natural for the builder of this
 monument to record the honours of his grandfather, as well as
 those of his father, upon the tomb-stone of the latter.

III.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΕΙΘΥΝΙΕ[ΤΕ
 ΚΑΙ ΝΕΙΚΟΜΗΔΕΥΣ ΖΩΝ ΕΛΤΩ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΤΑΣ[Ε
 ΤΟ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ. ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΜΗΤΡΙ ΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΣΕΜΒΙΩ
 ΦΙΛΙΠΠΑ ΠΟΝΤΙΑΝΟΥ
 ΚΑΙ ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟ ΤΕΘΗΝΑΙ ΗΜΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ
 ΚΑΜΑΡΑΝ ΜΗΔΕΝΑ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΝΟΙΞΕ. ΕΙΔΕ ΠΑΡΑ
 ΤΑΤΤΑ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΙ ΔΩΣΕΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΦΙΣΚΟΝ * ΒΦ
 ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ * ΑΒΦ : ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ.

*Alexander Alexandri filius, Bithyniensis
et Nicomediensis, vivus sibi construxit
hoc sepulchrum. Et matri meae et uxori*

Philippiae Pontiani filiae.

*Et volo, postquam nos illati fuerimus in
cameram, neminem alium aperire. Si quis vero praeter
hoc fecerit dabit fisco denarios bis mille quingentos,
et civitati denarios bis mille quingentos. Valete.*

The fourth line, containing the name of the wife, seems to have been inserted after the rest was engraved, and I am not quite certain that I have read it right. *Philippia* is a strange name.

It may be thought, perhaps, that instead of—ΕΑΤΤΩ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΤΑΣΕ—in l. 2. we should read—ΕΜΑΤΤΩ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΤΑΣΑ.—The construction would certainly be more grammatical; but I find another inscription from Smyrna, published by Montfaucon, [T. v. p. 39.] in which there is exactly the same disregard of Syntax as in this. Ατταλῶ Ερμιππῶ τε Ατταλῶ καίσε-
κυουσεν το μνημειον ζων σαυῶ, και τη γυναικι Αμμῶ, και τοις ιδιοις
τεκνοις ζουσιν, και τοις καλοισχομενοις ΜΟΤ ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ. κ. τ. λ.

I CANNOT find that this inscription has ever been published. The use of *βυλομε* for *βυλομαι*, and of *αναιζε* for *ανοιξει*, would lead us to guess that it was of no very remote antiquity, as well as the constant omission of the *ι* at the end of the dative cases---
σαυῶ—τη—συμβιω—Φιλίππια. The form of the *Ξ* is very particular, and different from any of those which Montfaucon has collected in his *Palaeographia Graeca*.

P O S T S C R I P T.

SINCE the above was written, I have met with a passage in *Apollonii Lexicon Homericum*, (lately published at Paris by Mons. de Villoison) which, I think, makes it probable that *αειδεν*, *canere*, was not unfrequently used for *λεγειν*, *dicere*, though the instances are not come down to us. The material part of the passage is this :

ΑΕΙΔΕ. *φδοι, ὕμνει.*—*τινες δὲ εἰς τὸ ΑΕΓΕΙΝ μάλιστα τὴν λεξιν.*
 ΑΕΙΔΕ. *cane, celebra.*—*quidam vero transtulerunt dictionem ad significandum dicere.*

He afterwards gives the following instance ; not from *Æsop*, (as the learned editor supposes) but from an anonymous author, who is speaking of *Æsop*, and whom, from the metre of this fragment (being the Choliambic), we may reasonably conclude to be that *Babrius*, of whose elegant collection of *Æsopian fables* Suidas has preserved enough to make us exceedingly regret the loss of the rest :

— — — ταῦτα δ' Αἰσωπῶ.
 Ο Σαρδηνῶς εἶπεν, ὅτι οἱ ἀδελφοὶ [1. Δελφοὶ]
 ἈΔΟΝΤΑ μῦθον ἢ καλῶς εἰδὲξαι—
 ὡς τε ΑΕΓΟΝΤΑ· ὁ γὰρ Αἰσωπῶ λοιοποιῶ.

— — — hæc vero *Æsopus*
 Ille Sardinus dixit, quem quidem Delphi
 Canentem fabulam non pulchre exceperunt—
 Canentem, pro, *dicentem*: *Æsopus* enim pedestri sermone usus
 est. See also Strabo, L. i. p. 18. Edit. Casaub.

XXVI. *An account of an undescribed Roman Station in Derbyshire. By the Reverend Mr. Watson; in a Letter to the Reverend Mr. Norris, Secretary.*

Read at the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, Dec. 10, 1772.

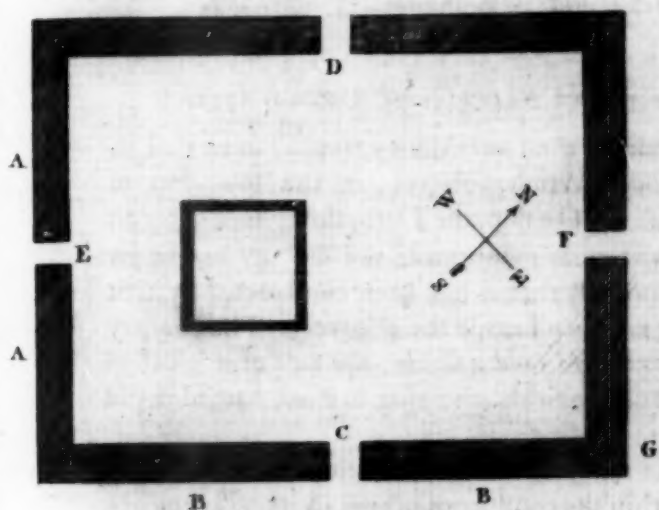
ON the south side of the river Mersey, (or, as some call it, the Edrow) near Wooley-bridge, in the township of Gamesley, and parish of Glossop, in Derbyshire, is a Roman station, which no writer has mentioned, nor did any one know (as far as can be informed) that it had been constructed by that people, till July 1771, when I made the discovery. The country people give it the name of *Melandra Castle*; the area of it is called the *Castle-yard*, and eleven fields adjoining to it are named in old deeds the *Castle Carrs*.

It is situated, like many other Roman stations, on moderately elevated ground, within the confluence of two rivers, as in the annexed plan [a], and was well supplied with good water. Very fortunately the plough has not defaced it, so that the form of it cannot be mistaken. The ramparts, which have considerable quantities of hewn stones in them, seem to be about three yards broad. On the sides A and B were ditches, of which part remains, the rest is filled up; on the other sides there are such declivities, that there was no occasion for this kind of defence. On the north-east side, between the station and the water, great numbers of worked stones lie promiscuously, both above and under ground; there is also a subterraneous stream of water here, and a large bank of earth

[a] Plate XII.

which

Plan of Melandra Castle.



*Inscription
found at
Melandra.*



which runs from the Station to the River. It seems very plain, that on this, and on the north-west sides, have been many buildings; and these are the only places where they could safely stand, because of the declivity between them and the two rivers.

THE extent of this station is about 122 yards, by 112. The four gates, or openings into it, are exceedingly visible, as is also the foundation of a building within the area, about 25 yards square, which in all probability was the Praetorium.

THE road from the Roman Station at Brough, in Derbyshire, entered Melandra at the gate C; the track of it, for a good part of the way, is still used, being set with large stones in the middle, and where it runs over mossy grounds has proper drains cut on each side of it. It has the name of the *Doctor's Gate*, and, having passed through the middle of the station, was carried forward to a place in Yorkshire, called the *Doctor's Lane-Head*, where it joined the great Roman way from Manchester to York.

FROM E, I am of opinion that a road went to Buxton, where I lately discovered the site of a Roman station, unknown, I believe, at present, to any Antiquary but myself. Another road made of gravel, which the tenant has often ploughed up in his fields, seemed to point from hence towards Stockport, where the Romans had also a settlement, at the distance of a moderate march, on the banks of the same river. Whether any thing of this sort led from F into Yorkshire, I am not yet sufficiently informed; if there did, the raised bank already mentioned might be part of it, and it might either enter that county by the way of Woodhead, beyond which I have heard of an old disused road pointing over the moor towards York; or it might take its direction under Buxton Castle, towards Castlethaw, in Saddleworth.

At G, very near the east angle, the present tenant of the ground under the Duke of Norfolk, found several years ago, as he was searching,

searching for stones to build him an house, a stone, about sixteen inches long, and twelve broad, which is now walled up in the front of his house, and contains the annexed inscription, which I read thus; *Cohortis primae Frisianorum Centurio Valerius Vitalis.*

It was therefore a sister fort to that at Manchester, which was garrisoned by another part of the Frisian Cohort, as appears by an inscription found there, and published by Camden and others; as also by another inscription on a stone found near Manchester, in my own possession, but not yet published.

THERE has been some doubt about the manner of writing the Latin word for Frisians. Horsley, p. 90, says that, "perhaps both the inscription found at Manchester, and another at Bowes, in Richmondshire, should be read *Friforum*:" but this can hardly be; for that at Manchester had *Frifn*; and I cannot but think, that there was originally a ligature also in the former part of the N, which was either effaced when it was found, or not properly attended to. The true meaning seems to be effectually established by this discovery at Melandra. If this was the same as the Cohors prima *Frifagorum* of the Notitia, stationed afterwards at Vindobala, or Rutchester on the Wall, the word probably was corrupted in those late times in which this work was composed. The date of this inscription I take to have been about the time of the Emperor Severus.

THIS is all I know at present about this remarkable discovery, which I doubt not will hereafter throw considerable light on the Roman history of this neighbourhood.

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

JOHN WATSON.

Stockport, Dec. 5. 1772.

XXVII. *An Account of some ancient English Historical Paintings at Cowdry, in Suffex. By Sir Joseph Ayloff, Bart. V. P. A. S. and F. R. S.*

Read at the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, March 25, and April 1, 1773.

IN a Memoir which I formerly laid before the Society, touching the royal picture of the interview between King Henry VIII. and the French King Francis the First [a], I took notice of the advantages which might result to the historian and antiquary from a careful inspection of such remaining historic paintings and sculptures, as, being executed with accuracy and fidelity, are co-aeval with the transactions they are intended to record.

DURING the recess of the last summer, in company with Messrs. Brander, Chown, Aisle, and Blyke, Members of this Society, I had an opportunity of viewing and examining at leisure a considerable number of very curious and ancient paintings of this sort, now preserved at Cowdry, near Midhurst, in Suffex, the seat of the Right Honourable Viscount Montague, who permitted us a freedom of access to those valuable treasures, with an ease and politeness that fully characterized the nobleman and the scholar.

THE subjects of these paintings, together with the circumstantial and instructive manner in which they represent several very interesting parts of our national story, manifestly confirm those

[a] See before, p. 185.

sentiments which I had long entertained as to the utility of such pieces. And it was with no small degree of satisfaction that we found them not only exhibiting exact views of towns, fortifications, and other places of importance, in the state and condition in which they actually were at the time of painting those pictures; but that they in a great measure explain and lay open the art of war both by sea and land, as practised by our ancestors above two hundred years ago, as well as represent the military customs and manners then prevalent; exclusive of the information they afford in respect to a variety of other matters of antiquity.

HITHERTO these monuments of English glory, although indisputably well entitled to public attention, have remained undescribed, and in great measure unnoticed. In order therefore that the Society may have some faint idea of them, I presume to offer the following account, to which I am the rather induced, by many of those paintings having been passed over in silence, and others only transiently mentioned, by the ingenious author, whose literary labours, and course of inquiries after painting in England, enabled him to give a more circumstantial and ample description of those valuable historic records than hath hitherto been published.

AT present I shall confine myself to those paintings only which are the singular and very remarkable ornaments of the great dining parlour, reserving the account of the other English historic pictures, at Cowdry, to some future occasion.

THESE paintings, which are in oil on stucco, occupy the whole length of each side of the room, and are continued along the upper end, as far as the angles of the jambs which guard the recess formed by the great bay window. In height they reach from the impost moulding of the dado to the under side of the cornice, and are in fine preservation.

THOSE

THOSE of the left side of the room are divided into three compartments, separated from each other by the figure of a banner-staff, whose but-end is represented as resting on the ground, whilst its top, as low down as the coronal, is hid by the fascia of the cornice of the room. The first contains the march of king Henry the Eighth from Calais towards Boulogne; the second represents the encampment of the English forces at Marquissie, or, as it was then called, Marquison; and the third exhibits a view of the siege of Boulogne; an event which not only enlarged our territorial possessions in France, but redounded to the honour of King Henry, added glory to the English arms, and signalized the year 1544 in our national annals.

THE paintings on the right hand side of the room are divided into two compartments, the one containing the rendezvous of the English army at Portsmouth, in the year 1545, to oppose the intended invasion of this kingdom by the French, whose formidable fleet of men of war and transports are represented as lying off St. Helen's; and the other containing the procession of King Edward the Sixth from the Tower of London to Westminster, on the day preceding that of his coronation.

BEFORE I proceed to a further description of these pictures, it perhaps may be necessary to consider for a moment the state of English affairs about the times to which they relate.

IN the year 1540, the animosities which for a considerable time had subsisted between the Emperor Charles the Fifth and the French King Francis the First, were grown to such a height, as plainly indicated, that a fresh rupture between those two monarchs was nearly approaching. The latter continued to decline the performance on his part of the treaty of 1526, usually called *The Concord of Madrid*, and more particularly of those articles which related to his restoring to Charles the duchy of Burgundy;

and the renunciation of his right and claim in the Kingdom of Naples and other territories in the possession of Charles.

ON the other hand, the Emperor persisted as obstinately in his refusal to restore Milan to Francis. Charles thought himself further injured by the intrigues carried on by Francis with the Venetians and the Turks, the latter of whom, by his instigation, were preparing to invade Germany; as also by the endeavours that had been used by the Duke of Orleans, and the Duchess d'Estampes, the French King's mistress, to take him prisoner whilst he was at Paris, in the year 1539; and by the ill success of his negotiations in the Diet at Worms. The assassination of Rincon and Fregole, the French Ambassadors to Venice and the Porte, whilst they were in their passage along the Po, had likewise inflamed the jealousy of Francis; who, imputing the commission of that act to orders given by the Emperor, in resentment surprised and kept prisoner George of Austria. Further, the slight shewn to his Ambassadors, at the Diet at Spire, in the following year, and the contempt wherewith the remonstrance there made was treated, enraged him to such a degree, that he publicly defied Charles, and thereupon invaded his territories in five different places at once.

ABOUT the same time our King Henry the Eighth had resolved on a rupture with Scotland; for which the marriage of James the Fifth, first with Magdalen, the French King's daughter, against the sentiments of the King of England, and secondly with Mary of Guise, to whom our King Henry had shewn some inclination; James's non-compliance with an interview with Henry, which had been repeatedly appointed; his entertaining some rebels of the North; his refusal to do homage to Henry for the kingdom of Scotland; and some other matters of equal importance; were assigned as reasons.

ON

ON this occasion Henry sent Sir William Paget to Francis, with instructions to hold him to his treaties of perpetual peace, as beng apprehensive that he was inclined to assist the Scottish King. Francis on his part declined all propositions made by Paget; and insisting on Henry's assistance for the recovery of Milan, and refusing to pay him the pensions stipulated by former treaties, Paget returned home. On the other hand, Henry, provoked by this conduct of Francis, desisted from the treaty of marriage between the Duke of Orleans and the Princess Mary, formerly proposed by the French Ambassador Pomeroy, and then renewed; and determined to comply with the Emperor's solicitations, and to enter into a league with him against France.

THE unexpected death of the Scottish King, in 1541, put a stop to the war with Scotland; and Henry, changing his councils, endeavoured to secure the person of the young Queen of Scotland, and in due time to match her to his son, Prince Edward; but in this design he was again thwarted by Francis, and the French faction, which then prevailed with the Queen Regent; so that he hastened to conclude the league with the Emperor against Francis.

THESE were the real motives for Henry's conduct at this time; but the principal causes for a war with France, as publicly alledged, were the following, viz. Francis's having fortified Ardres, and made incroachments to the prejudice of the English; his giving his daughter Magdalen, and afterwards the daughter of the Duke of Guise, in marriage to James, King of Scotland, contrary to his promise; his detaining from Henry the debt of two millions of crowns, and a yearly pension of one hundred thousand crowns during his life, as stipulated to be paid to him by the treaty of Moore, concluded August 1, 1525; his neglecting to supply Henry yearly with the salt of Brouage to the value of fifteen thousand crowns, as settled by one of the three treaties of

the 30th of April 1527; his revealing to the Emperor, when at Aigues Mortes, and at Paris, divers secrets wherewith Henry had intrusted him; and his having confederated himself with the Turk.

By the aforementioned league, which was ratified by Charles at Molin del Rey, near Barcelona, on the 8th of April 1544, it was stipulated, amongst other articles, that, within one month from the declaration of war against France, Henry and the Emperor should each have a fleet at sea, bearing two, or, if need be, three thousand soldiers, which fleet should remain on the coast of France, infesting that country; that, within two years from such declaration of war, the two princes should, either in person, or by lieutenant, invade the kingdom of France with an army of twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse; and that, when King Henry should have so invaded France with his contingency of troops, the Emperor should, at his own costs, lend him two thousand lansquenets, and two thousand able horse, to serve under him.

IN consequence of these stipulations, Henry sent over into France an army of thirty thousand men, divided into three battails. The van was led by Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and the rear by the Lord Russell, assisted by Henry Earl of Surry, marshal of the field. These forces landing at Calais, marched directly to Montreuil, where being joined by ten thousand of the Emperor's troops, under the command of the admiral Count de Bures, they laid siege to that town. At the same time the main battail, conducted by Charles Duke of Suffolk, the King's lieutenant, accompanied by Henry Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel, Marshal of the field, Sir Anthony Brown, Master of the King's horse, and divers others, likewise landed at Calais, and encamping near that place, waited for the King's arrival. On the 14th of July Henry, attended by a royal train, landed at Calais, and took up his residence
2 there,

there, at the house appropriated for the use of his Exchequer. Here on the next day he was waited on by Don Bertran de la Dueva, Duke Albuquerque, commander of the Emperor's auxiliary forces, as also by the Count de Bures, admiral of the Low Countries. These officers having informed Henry of the state of their master's forces and affairs, the king on that day ordered the Duke of Suffolk, who with the troops under his command then lay encamped at Marquison, or Marquise, to march directly, and invest Boulogne, whilst the other part of the army carried on the siege of Montreuil. On Friday the 18th of July the Duke reconnoitred the out-works of Boulogne, and on the next day broke up his camp, and sat down before the lower town, which was taken on the Monday following, notwithstanding a vigorous sally made by the garrison of the high town. Henry, having received the news of this success of his arms, dismissed the Emperor's admiral, who had till then attended him; and on the 25th of July marched out of Calais, and, encamping that night at Marquison, he on the next day proceeded to join the army before Boulogne.

WITH these circumstances the paintings on the left hand side of the room commence.

On a scroll, near the top of the first compartments of the paintings, is written,

"THE METINGE OF THE KINGE BY

"SE ANTONI BROWNE UPON THE

"HILL BETWENE CALLIS AND

"MARQUISON."

ON the right hand is a bird's-eye view of the *Risefanc*, or, more properly speaking, the *Rysbrook*, together with the town and castle of *Calais*, and their respective fortifications. At some distance from them, and nearly at the bottom of the fore-ground of the picture, is an elevation of the west-front of fort *Nieulai*, or,

as it was then called by the English, *Newman's Bridge*, but by mistake written *New Name Bridg* on the picture. King Henry, with a most royal train which marched with him from Calais, is here represented as passing through fort *Nieulai*, and from thence crossing the river of *Hames*, by means of a bridge composed of three arches, and proceeding towards *Marquison*, or *Marquise*. The King, dressed in compleat armour, and mounted on a bay horse richly caparisoned, rides in the midst of a body of pikemen, and is preceded by his standard-bearer, carrying the royal banner. Some persons, apparently of quality, on horseback, sundry officers at arms, and a party of soldiers, are represented as having just ascended the hill between *Escalles* and *Peuplinque*, where the King is received by Sir Anthony Brown at the head of a party of horse. The horsemen in compleat armour, and under the guidon of St. George, are drawn up on the summit of the hill on the left hand. Opposite to them the trumpeters of the guard, richly dressed in the royal livery, form a line, each of them having his trumpet ornamented with a banner of the arms of England and France quarterly. They seem as if sounding to arms on the King's approach. In the middle of the ground, between the horsemen and trumpeters, is Sir Anthony Brown, mounted on a brown horse, and bowing in the most respectful manner to the King. He holds his bonnet in his right hand, and points with it towards the right of the forces, probably to shew the King the ground which had been marked out near *Marquise* for the royal camp, though the spot is not represented in the picture.

In the rear of the King is a party of horse, followed by several bodies, as well of horse as foot, dressed in distinct liveries, having their respective banners and guidons displayed. These form a line of march from the gate of *Nieulai* to the bridge over the river of *Hames*, and continue from thence to the place where the King is met by Sir Anthony Brown.

ALTHOUGH

ALTHOUGH the subject of this piece unavoidably occasioned a stiffness in the painting, yet the painter hath relieved it as much as he possibly could consistently with the truth of historical representation, by a laudable disposition of the several bands of men, by the face given to the country through which they are passing, and by the introduction and disposition of several figures represented as stragglers from the main body of the army. As he seems to have been chaste in properly distinguishing the different corps of guards, henchmen, light horse, demi-lances, pikemen, gunners, &c. so he hath duly observed to mark the different liveries of the respective bands, by varying the cloathing of each straggler, and by representing some as wearing both stockings of the same colour, and others with one stocking of one colour, and the other of another colour; thus some have both stockings white, some both red, and some both yellow; whilst others again have a yellow stocking on one leg, and a red stocking on the other. Some have a white stocking on the left leg, and a red one on the right; and others again a yellow stocking on the right leg, and a black stocking on the left. At a considerable distance from the line of march, but close to the north west tower of fort *Niculai*, and in the front of the piece, are two soldiers represented as fighting with each other. The skull-cap or head-piece of each is similar; but they are differently armed, the one holds a small buckler in his left hand, and a long sword in his right; and the other hath a very large buckler, and a sword somewhat shorter than that of his antagonist. It is difficult to determine the reason for introducing the figures of these combatants into the picture; but as they are placed in the fore-ground, and in a very conspicuous manner, there can remain but little doubt of their being designed to mark and perpetuate the memory of some singular event which happened at that time.

HAVING taken a view of this first compartment, it is no more than justice to consider how far the painter hath therein kept to, or deviated from, historical truth. In the Diary of the King's voyage,

voyage, and of the siege of Boulogne, printed by Rymer [b], we find, that the Duke of Suffolk, with Sir Anthony Brown, Master of the Horse to the King, and the main battail of the English forces, lay encamped at Marquison, which is about nine miles from Boulogne; that five days after the King's arrival at Calais, they undertook the siege of Boulogne; and that the King, having received the news of the taking the lower town on the 25th of July, marched for Boulogne in the following order: First, drums and vifflours; then the trumpets, the officers of arms, and the barons; then Garter, followed by the Duke of Alberquerk, and the Earl of Rutland, bearing the King's banner displayed; then the King's Majesty, armed at all pieces, mounted upon a goodly courser. And after him the Lord Herbert, bearing the King's head-piece and spear; and followed by the henchmen, well horsed. That at the gates of Nieulai the King was met by the Duke of Alberquerk's company of one hundred horse, the Earl of Essex chief captain of the men at arms, and Sir Thomas Drury, accompanied by a great number of horsemen; and that he proceeded from thence in the following order: First, light horses and demi-lances; then the guard, viz. twenty-five archers on the right side, and as many gunners on the left; the King's Majesty riding in the midst of the pikemen; then the men of arms, after whom the rest of the army followed, every band in order, having his banner or guidon displayed.

LORD Herbert, in his Life of Henry the Eighth, further says, "that the main battail were apparelled in a bizarre fashion, their colours being red and yellow, and that the van-guard had caps and hose party-coloured." And Holinshed, in his Chronicle, takes notice, "that the battel, called the King's battel, were in coats, caps, and hosen, red guarded with yellow." Now if we

[b] Rymer's Foed. vol. XV.

compare these accounts with the picture, we shall find that the painter hath adhered to facts and the truth of history in every particular, so far at least as it was possible for him to represent them in his piece.

As none of the English historians, or the Diary just now quoted, expressly mention that it was Sir Anthony Brown who received the King on the height between Escales and Peuplinque, some doubts may perhaps be started as to the truth of the above assertion. Probability will however in great measure support it. Sir Anthony Brown, as appears by the before-mentioned journal, was at that time encamped at Marquison; and being master of the horse to the King, had, in point of office, the care of the quarters there assigned for that monarch; consequently he was the most proper person to meet the King, and to shew and conduct him to his camp. This suggestion is further strengthened, not only by the tradition that hath always prevailed in Lord Montague's family, that Sir Anthony met the King on that spot, and the inscription on the picture testifying the same; but by the evident likeness that there is between the face of the figure represented as meeting the King, and that of an undoubted portrait of Sir Anthony, now in one of the apartments at Cowdry.

THE *Risbank*, or *Rysbrook* [c], is here depicted in the same form and manner as it is represented in a plan of the siege of Calais,

[c] The *Rysbank*, corruptly so called from its more ancient name of *Rysbrook*, is supposed by several of the French writers (1) to have been the work of the Emperour Caligula; but in fact it was originally built by the English, so late as the reign of King Richard II. as is evident from the French Rolls now preserved in the Tower of London. In the year 1391, the French having augmented the fortifications of Ardres, St. Omer's, and Boulogne, and placed strong garri-sons in

(1) *Etat de la France* par M. Boulainvilliers, tom. I. p. 64. *Memorial of Mont. Bignon*, Intendant of Picardy, MS. in the Depot at Versailles. *Annales de Calais*, par M. Barnard, chap. iv. p. 23.

lais, by the Duke de Guise, in the year 1558, published by Mons^r. Lefebure, in his History of Calais [d]. Exactly consonant to the same plan is the view of the town and fortifications of Calais, and that of fort Nieulai, or Newman's Bridge [e], as described in this painting. It is further observable, for the credit and authenticity of the Cowdry picture, that the painter hath given the same precise number and form of arches to his bridge over the river of Hames, as it appears to have in that engraved in the before-mentioned plan of the siege.

THE second compartment represents, as is expressed near its top, "THE CAMPING OF THE KING AT MORGUISON."

each, thereby alarmed the English, who began to suspect some design was forming against Calais. John Duke of Lancaster was thereupon appointed lieutenant general of the English territories in Picardy, and sent to inspect and examine into the condition of the fortresses in those parts (2). On his arrival at Calais, he gave orders for putting the fortifications of that place into a proper state of defence, and finding it weak on that side next to the harbour, he there erected a strong fortified tower, which obtained the appellation, first of *The New Tower*, and afterwards that of *Lancaster's New Tower* (3). After the battle of Agincourt, John Gerrard, who was then commandant of this tower, by order of King Henry V. added thereto two strong bastions, separated by a curtain of one hundred and thirty-two feet in length, which served as a wall for the carkments, which were carried on throughout its whole extent, and fortified with turrets at each angle (4). From that time it is called the Fortress of *Rydhrost*. Some of those works are now remaining.

[d] Tom. II. p. 292.

[e] The origin of fort Nieulai is not exactly known; but it is generally supposed to be one of those forts which were built by the Emperor Charlemagne, in the year 810, upon the sea coast of Picardy, to defend it against the invasions of the Danes, and other Northern pirates, who then infested the seas between Flanders, France, and England. Malbr. de Morin, lib. v. c. 46. *Hist de la Ville de Calais*, par M. Lefebure, tom. I. p. 628, 629.

(2) Rot. Franc. m. 5.

(3) Ibid. m. 1. & 9. *Hist. de Calais*, par M. Lefebure, tom. II. p. 233.

(4) Rot. Franc. m. 9. & 17. *Hist. de Calais*, par M. Lefebure, tom. II. p. 100.

THE front or foreground of this piece represents a champaign country, covered with baggage and ammunition waggons, artillery, and a great number of different sorts of tents, labouring under the utmost distress from a violent and incessant storm of wind and lightning, which is expressed in a masterly manner. Here we see several tents blown down, and lying on the ground; whilst the soldiers and women, in all the pangs of fright and horror, are endeavouring to creep from under the shattered ruins, and seem apprehensive of being again buried under the neighbouring tottering tents. Others have their tent-pins drawn, and are represented as falling; whilst the soldiers and artillery-men, harassed by the stress of weather, and scarce able to stand against the force of the wind, weakly endeavour to keep them up. Of those that are left standing, some are torn in pieces by the wind, and others have their curtains blown open, and waving in the air. In the back ground is a view of the church and village of Marquison all on fire, occasioned, as tradition hath it, by the flashes of lightning. The historians of that time take no notice of this storm; but the above quoted Diary alludes to it, where it says, "The King camped that night at Marquison, being a very great tempestuous night of rain and thunder."

THE third compartment, which is in size equal to both the former, represents the siege of Boulogne [f].

ON

[f] The ancient *Gessoriacum* changed its name for that of *Bononia*, under the empire of Dioclesian, about which time Carausius, finding that town a proper retreat for his troops then employed in an expedition against the Morini, took possession of the place, and fortified it; but not long after he was dispossessed thereof by Constantius Chlorus, who thenceforth kept his court there, whenever his affairs did not call him to Treves. From the frequent residence of the subsequent emperors at this place, and more particularly when the harbours of Wissant and Ambletuse were abandoned, Boulogne became a flourishing town, being then the

ON the left hand is a view of the high or upper town of Boulogne, defended by a strong wall, strengthened with lofty ramparts,

only port in Gaul at which the Romans embarked for Britain, and was then called *Bonsia Oceanensis*, to distinguish it from *Benonia* in Italy. In the year 463 it appears to be generally called Boulogne; for in that year, Leger, the principal of the chiefs of the Morini, on the submission of those people to the Franks, was appointed Earl of Boulogne, and its territories, which extended to the river Escaut; but he going soon after into Britain, to the assistance of Uther-Pendragon, was deprived of those his then new dignity and acquisitions. His son Leger II. however, by the aid of our British King Arthur, recovered them from Cloaire, King of Soissons, to whose lot they had fallen upon the partition made between him and his three brothers, after the death of their father Clovis. In 881, the northern intruders, who had ravaged Flanders and the sea-coast of Picardy, laid siege to Boulogne, and having entirely rased its ancient walls, which from their excessive height had occasioned the town to be sometimes called *Haut-mur*, or *Haultemur* (1), massacred great part of the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex. From that time Boulogne was in great measure deserted, till Philip, Earl of Boulogne, uncle to King Lewis IX. in the year 1227, re-edified its walls, divided the upper from the lower town, and strengthened the former, by erecting on its east side a castle, defended by a wet ditch, which separated it from the town, wherewith it had communication by means of a bridge; as also by raising at a small distance a strong tower, called *Porquet*, or *Martinienne* (2). From these advantages the inhabitants formed the most sanguine hopes of seeing their town flourish once more; but they were greatly disappointed in their expectations, by Philip's fortifying of Calais, cleansing and deepening its harbour, erecting a strong castle for its defence, making it the place of his residence, and giving every encouragement to the establishment of trade and commerce therein; of all which advantages the inhabitants made the best use. The taking of Calais by the English, in the year 1347, gave a new turn to the affairs of Boulogne, as from that time it became the frontier town of the French territories, and the only fortress that could cover Picardy on that side next Calais. On this account Charles VI. enlarged and strengthened its fortifications considerably; and the town, by reason of the numerous garrison usually kept there, and the conveniency of its harbour, soon grew rich and flourishing, notwithstanding the frequent incursions made into its neighbourhood by the English garrison at Calais. In the year 1488, K. Henry VII. with a powerful army besieged it; but soon after raised the siege, on the exchanging

(1) *Consumier general de Picardie*, par Duhours

(2) *Mem. de Du Bellai. Arn. Ferron. ad Hist. P. Emil. adli.* p. 143.

ramparts, and bastions fixed on its flanks. On the east side of the town is the citadel, covered by another large bastion. Beneath those, and nearer to the fore part of the picture, is a view of the lower town, as also of its river and harbour, with part of the sea between the jettee heads and the harbour of Wissan. In the foreground of the picture is the main English camp within an intrenchment thrown up on the north side of Boulogne, from whence the approaches appear to be carried on for forming the attack upon that part of the high town which faces towards the sea. Over it is written "THE KING'S CAMP." At the eastern corner of this camp is a royal battery, consisting of upwards of thirty guns, commanded by the King in person [g]. He is dressed in complet

the ratification of the peace concluded between him and Charles VIII. which the latter purchased at the price of seven hundred and forty thousand crowns, Francis I. soon after his accession, increased the fortifications, by adding thereto the tower of our Lady, that of St. Francis, and a third called *le Mouton*, which latter commanded the low town, was strengthened with ramparts, faced with freestone, and flanked at due distances with turrets mined and countermined. In 1532 it was honoured with being the place of interview between King Henry VIII. and Francis I. when they entered into that agreement which obliged the Grand Signior to lay aside his design of invading Christendom (3). In 1544 it was besieged and taken by King Henry VIII. and continued in the possession of the English till the month of January 1550, when, in consideration of four hundred thousand crowns, agreed to be paid by the French King Henry II. to King Edward VI. it was, pursuant to treaty, delivered up to the French.

[g] The face of the King, as represented in this part of the painting, is far from being a good likeness, and is painted in a style inferior to that of any other portrait in the room. This circumstance is the more necessary to be taken notice of, as it will be observed, in the sequel, that our painter was peculiarly attentive to the giving an exact portrait of the King, and succeeded happily in that attempt. The case was this. During the grand rebellion, Cowdry being made a place of arms for the Parliament forces, the then noble owner caused all the paintings in the

(3) Corps Diplom. T. IV. part. IV. p. 29. Du Tillet, v. iv. Recueil des Traites des Rois de Fr. & d'Angleterre. sur l'ordre et certain. offert. à l'entrevue des Rois M. de Du Bellai.

armour inlaid and otherwise ornamented with gold, and standing within a busque of high trees. In his right hand he holds a battoon of command, as directing the operations of the siege, and appears to be considerably taller than any of the soldiers near him. This representation of the King agrees intirely with the description given by Holinshed, in his Chronicle. "It was, says that historian, "a matter in the camp of ease to discern which " was the King: for none of the rest came near him in tallness " by the head. As for his proportion of limbs, it was answer- " able to his goodly stature and making, a methomble description " whereof, as well as of his artificial armour, I find reported as " followeth:

" Rex capite Henricus reliquos supereminet omnes,

" Heros praevalidus, seu fortia brachia spectes,

" Seu furas quos fulvo opifex incluserat auro,

" Sive virile ducis praestanti pectore corpus,

" Nulla vi domitum, nullo penetrabile ferro."

Two of the guns in the royal battery are remarkably large and short, and very much resemble those wooden pieces shewn at the Tower of London, and said to have been devised by Henry the Eighth, to appear as great ordnance, and intimidate the besieged. This battery is playing on that part of the town wall which fronts towards the flower Boulogne, and wherein a considerable breach appears to be effected, and the English advanced in their

dining-parlour to be covered with a thick white-wash. One of the officers quartered there, diverting himself with his half-pike, accidentally struck the point against that part of the wall whereon the King's face was portrayed, and broke it off. After the Restoration, the white-wash was taken off, and the damage being discovered, was repaired by another painter; who, probably having never seen any good portrait of King Henry, hath there given but a faint resemblance of his features.

trenches

trenches to the foot of that wall [b]. On the left is another camp, over which is written, "THE DUKE OF ALBERKIRKY CAMP." Beyond this, higher up in the picture, is the park for the artillery, crowded with ordnance stores, artillery waggons, great guns, mortars, fascines, sand bags, and the several implements belonging to the train. A great number of soldiers and matrosses are here busily employed in making up and delivering out cartridges for the great guns, charging bomb shells, twisting match, and performing a variety of other services. In the front of this park is a battery playing upon a bastion built at that angle of the town wall which is near to the breach made by the great guns of the royal battery. Between these two camps is another battery, consisting of mortars only, all of which are throwing bombs into the town. More within the land, and to the right of the road leading from Boulogne to Marquise, is another camp, called THE LORD ADMIRAL'S CAMP. In the front of this camp is a fascine battery, which plays furiously on the castle, and over it is written THE MOUNT. This battery is particularly mentioned by Hollinshed, who says, that, "besides the trenches which were cast and brought in manner round about the town, there was a mount raised on the east side, and divers pieces of artillery planted aloft thereon, which, together with the mortar pieces, sore annoyed them within, and battered down the steeple of our Lady's church;" and then adds, "the battery was made in the most forcible wise in three several places, and the walls, tower, and castles, were undermined, and the town within so beaten with shot out of the camp, and from the mount and trench by the mortar pieces, that there were but few houses left therein." Our pic-

[b] During the time of the assault, the great artillery did beat still upon them that presented themselves at the breaches to repel the assailants. Hollinshed's Chron.

ture represents the cathedral, tower, castle and town, exactly in such a ruinous condition. On the left of the last-mentioned camp is another fascine battery playing upon the citadel, defended by a large tower or bastion [1], near to which a considerable breach appears to be made in the wall [2]. On this battery is displayed a large flag charged with the Cross of St. George, impaled with Barrè of eight, Azure and Or. More to the left of these is yet another camp, over which is written THE DUKE OF SUFFOLY'S CAMPE. Within the lines of this camp are two batteries of five guns each: one is playing furiously on the bray of the citadel, which appears to be almost reduced to ruins; and the other is battering in breach in that part of the town wall which divides the land port from the citadel. At a considerable distance from these camps, and in the upper part of the picture, where there is a faint appearance of tents, is written SIR ANTHONY BROWN'S CAMP. From this camp Sir Anthony Brown, mounted on a bay horse, and attended by several other horsemen, is seen riding full speed towards the road to Montreuil, and waving in his right hand the King's standard, charged in chief with the Dragon of Cadwallader, and near to the extremities of each point, with the Cross of St. George [3].

BETWEEN the Duke of Alberquerque's camp and that of the Lord Admiral, is a bag-piper playing on his drone, and followed

[1] And. Ferron, in his additions to the history of P. Æmilius, p. 148, says, that this tower was called *Perquet* or *Martinienus*.

[2] When a piece of the castle was blown, and the breaches made as was thought reasonable, the assault was given by the Lord Dudley. Holinshed's Chronicle.

[3] Lefebure and other French writers say, that the armies of Henry and Francis amount'd together to 80,000 foot, and 20,000 horse; and that each of them had a much greater train of artillery and warlike stores than had ever before been seen in Europe.

by a number of men, dressed in plaids, their hair red, their heads uncovoured, and their legs bare. They have pikes in their hands, and broad swords hanging by their sides, and are driving sheep and oxen towards the artillery park. These probably were intended to represent certain Scotch irregulars in their return from foraging for the supply of the English army.

At the bottom of the fore-ground of the picture, and to the right of the King's camp, is a view of an octangular pharos or watch-tower, fortified by a ditch, and some out-works, and situate on the top of the promontory, or cliffs which command the entrance into the harbour. On its front is written **THE OLD MAN** [1], and within the works are seen several English soldiers.

When

[2] The building of this tower, called by the French *Tour d'Ordre*, and by the English **THE OLD MAN**, is by father Montfaucon and others (1) ascribed to the Emperor Caligula, at the time of his vaunted, although only pretended, conquest of Britain, and as intended by him for a monument of that vain-glorious expedition. The discovery made in the year 1681 of the remains of a similar building, together with divers Roman inscriptions, coins, and other antiquities, near the old mouth of the Rhine, hath however induced other writers to fix upon *Catwick*, in the neighbourhood of *Leyden*, as the true site of Caligula's Pharos, and to attribute the building of the *Tour d'Ordre* to some other of the Emperors (2); all the writers on this subject agreeing, that it was undoubtedly a work of the Romans. Upon the decline of the empire, this pharos fell to decay, and continued in a ruinous condition till the year 810, when Charlemagne having pitched upon *Boulogne* as the place of rendezvous for the fleet which he had fitted out to oppose the invasion of his dominions by the Danish and other piratical Northern States, caused it to be repaired, fortified, and lighted up, for the better direction and safety of his cruisers on that coast (3). If we may credit some of the French historians, that Emperor entertained so high an opinion of the utility of this pharos, that in token thereof he created one of the sons of *Orton*, Earl of *Boulogne*, a Baron, by the style of *Baron d'Ordre* (4). This matter however is very much contro-

(1) *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. vi. p. 581.

(2) *Adrian Junius*, in *Hist. Batav.* p. 108. *Ortelli Theat. Mund.* p. 47. *Diction de Leyde*, par *Gouard Goris*, p. 20. *Leichura, Hist. de Calais*, vol. I. p. 137, &c.

(3) *Eginhardi Vita Car. Mag. ap. Du Chesne*, t. ii. p. 202, 203. (4) *Clugni de Legibus Andium*, p. 376.

verted.

When the English sat down before the town, this pharos contained
 verted (5). When the Danish pirates laid siege to Boulogne, in the year 881,
 the *Tour d'Ordre*, by means of the cross-bow men posted in it, was of great ser-
 vice to the town, by galling the enemy's flank, and impeding their approaches, till
 the wall being broke down in many places, it was taken by storm. From the de-
 parture of the Danes, this tower continued the only defence of the harbour and
 town till the year 1227, when Philip Earl of Boulogne, uncle to Lewis IX, di-
 vided the upper from the lower town, and re-edified the ancient walls of the
 former, which had in great measure been demolished during the before-mentioned
 siege (6). King Henry VIII, after he had taken Boulogne, encompassed this
 pharos with a small fort, turreted at each angle, and strengthened it with other
 out-works, so that the ancient tower looked like the dungeon or keep of the fort-
 res (7). It remained in this state till the year 1644, when the people of Boulogne,
 having opened a quarry between the fort and the harbour, and drawn from thence
 a large quantity of stone, which they sold to the Dutch, the sea broke in, and,
 washing away large pieces of the rock, undermined the foundation so far, that
 about noon of the 29th day of July the top part of the cliff, together with the
 fort and pharos, fell down at the same instant (8). Of this octagonal tower father
 Montfaucon gives the following description, which is here inserted as a testimony
 of the accuracy of the painter of the Cowdry pictures. "According to Boucherius,
 "each side of this building was at its base twenty-four or twenty-five feet broad;
 "the circumference of the whole being about two hundred feet, and its di-
 "mension sixty-six. Its elevation consisted of twelve stages or stories, each of which
 "gradually diminished, and was at its base less in diameter than that immediately
 "beneath it. This reduction was effected by decreasing the thickness of the wall of
 "the reduced story, and revealing or setting it back within the thickness of that of
 "its under story, so that the projectile part of the latter, by its greater thickness,
 "formed on its top a kind of gallery of about eighteen inches wide, running round
 "the outside of the tower. And in this manner the building was carried up to its
 "summit, whereon the fires were lighted. In order to give this tower an agreeable
 "appearance, the walls were built of different-coloured materials. First, three cour-
 "ses of iron-coloured freestone, then two courses of a yellowish stone, and over them
 "two courses of sound red bricks; and this variation of colour and materials was
 "regularly observed in carrying up the walls as far as to the underside of the coping."
 The original appellation of this tower was *TURRIS ARDENS*, which afterwards
 was corrupted to *TURRIS ORDANS*, or *ORDENANS*; and at length varied by the
 Boulonois to *LA TOUR D'ORDRE* (9).

(5) Lefebvre, *Hist. de Calais*, vol. I. p. 429.

(6) Le Sr. Le Quien, *Hist. de la Ville de Boulogne*, MS. Inscription over the castle-gate at Boulogne.

(7) *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip.* tom. vi. p. 589. (8) *Ibid.* (9) *Ibid.*

a numerous garrison, well provided with all sorts of necessaries sufficient to hold out a long time; but on the third day of the siege, its commandant, together with the garrison, surrendered themselves prisoners of war to the Duke of Suffolk.

In this piece, perhaps the most perfect and distinct of any of its kind, we have the compleat representation of a siege, according to the practice used above two hundred years ago. We see the form of those fortifications which were then supposed to be sufficient for the defence of a frontier town. We also see that town invested by a powerful army divided into four camps, with the Park of Artillery in the midst, and the siege covered by a body of forces, encamped at distance. Here we are taught the form and manner of encampments, the method of carrying on approaches, and forming the attack, together with the mode of defence. We see the forms of great ordnance, mortars, and military machines, then used, with the method practised in working them; the various implements of war, ordnance stores, fascines, camp colours, ensigns, banners, guidons, and tents; as also the bread, baggage, and ammunition waggons, then in service; of which last some are of a very singular shape, being half cones laid on their side upon the bed of their carriages, and with their broadest end next to the shafts. Here likewise we learn the methods used in preparing and supplying the train and army with all stores, &c. wanted in their different departments. We are shewn the various uniforms or liveries of the respective bands of soldiers, and the habiliments of war appropriated to the different corps. In short, by duly contemplating the picture, we may form a tolerably good idea of whatever related to the military of those times.

In order to ascertain the precise time of the siege which the painter made choice of for the minute of the piece, we must recur to history.

PLATE 2

THE

ENDING

THE trenches [A] were begun, and the first battery was opened and erected against Boulogne, upon the 19th of July. On the 21st the lower town was taken. On the 22d the TOUR D'ORDRE, called by the English THE OLD MAN, the figure of which is represented in the fore ground of this picture, and which defended the entrance into the port, together with its garrison, surrendered at discretion to our troops. King Henry did not come to the camp before the town till the 26th of that month, and it was not until the 3d of August that the batteries to the east of the town where the King lay began their fire. On the 8th of September, as we learn from the King's letter to the Queen, the bray of the castle was taken, and three other batteries began to play on the castle and town, which, with the three mines that day sprung, did great execution in tearing the largest of the bulwarks.

In the picture the town and castle, with their respective fortifications, are represented as in a ruinous condition. A large breach is made in the wall fronting towards the north, and the men in the trenches before it are active and busy, as preparing for the assault, under cover of the royal battery, which is playing furiously on that part of the town which adjoined to the breach. The bray appears to be reduced almost to ruins, a breach is made in the wall near the citadel, and great part of the citadel itself broke down, and the cannon and mortars from all the other batteries are playing on those fortifications.

THESE circumstances, as represented in the painting, being therefore compared with the history of the progress of the siege, as it stood on the 8th of September, according to the diary, and the King's letter to the Queen, may be an inducement to fix on that day for the time of the picture now under consideration [1].

[1] Journal of the siege in Rymer's Foedera, before cited.

[2] Holinshed says, that the town surrendered on the 8th day of September; but the journal says, that it was on Holyrood day, the 14th of September.

DURING

DURING the siege, the Duke de Vendome was hovering about Picardy, with an army of observation, and harrassed the besiegers [m]; the Dauphin also, with a considerable number of forces, frequently attempted to relieve Boulogne, and compel King Henry to raise the siege. It is therefore probable, that the hurry in which the painting represents Sir Anthony Brown, when coming from his camp, was owing to an alarm of that sort, and that his bringing out the royal standard in the manner described was to serve a double purpose, viz. that of summoning to arms the men in the camp under his particular command, and that of giving notice at the same time to King Henry of the enemy's approach.

THE first compartment on the right hand side of the room represents a very memorable transaction, to wit, that of the attempt made by the French to invade this kingdom in the year 1545, which Monsieur Rapin justly calls the greatest attempt the French had ever made at sea; together with the preparations at Portsmouth, and on the adjacent coast, to oppose and prevent the execution of that formidable design.

IN the autumn of the year 1544, the French King, finding his affairs bear a very unfavourable aspect, and that his towns of Boulogne and Montreuil were on the point of surrendering to the English troops which then besieged them, hastened to conclude a separate treaty with the Emperor, being incessantly urged thereto by the Duchess d'Estampes, who at that time laboured to obtain for the Duke of Orleans an establishment out of the kingdom of France, whereto she might retire, in case either of her disgrace, or the King's death. This treaty was accordingly signed at Cressy, in the Laonnois, on the 18th of September, four days after the surrender of Boulogne, by which means King

[m] *Memoires de Du Bellai*, liv. 10.

Henry VIII, deserted by the Emperor, was left alone to secure his new conquests, and carry on the war against France. This treaty furnished Francis the First with a favourable opportunity for endeavouring to wreak his revenge on Henry, on account of his having taken Boulogne, and the ravages committed on the French coasts by the English fleet. He accordingly determined to invade England, and for that purpose [n] assembled his whole fleet, consisting of one hundred and fifty large ships, besides twenty-five gallies, and fifty small vessels and transports, at Havre de Grace, under the command of Monsieur d'Annebaut, admiral of France. This formidable squadron, after having been reviewed by the French King and his whole court with the greatest parade, took a considerable number of troops on board, and set sail for England on the sixth day of July, and on that evening came to an anchor off the point of St. Helen's, in the Isle of Wight. King Henry, who had previously received undoubted information of the design of this great armament, ordered the English forces, under the command of his lieutenant general the Duke of Suffolk, to rendezvous at Portsmouth; near to which, at Spithead, his navy, commanded by the Viscount Lisle, high admiral of England, then lay. He likewise soon after repaired to Portsmouth, and there joined the army. At day-break on the 19th, the French admiral being determined to provoke the English fleet to an engagement, sent in some of the gallies, with orders to fire upon our ships, whilst they were at anchor under shelter of the forts. These orders were accordingly executed by Paulin, Baron de la Garde, who had the conduct of the gallies; and it is the circumstances under which the French and English fleets were at that particular time, that are the principal subject of the painting now to be described.

[n] *Memoires de M. du Bellai.*

THIS picture gives us a view of the harbour, town, and fortifications, of Portsmouth, of Southsea Castle, Spithead, the Isle of Wight, and part of the adjacent county of Hants, as also of the French and English fleets, and of part of the English camp. The entrance or gate of the town of Portsmouth on the land side is placed so as to face the spectator; and the other three sides appear to be encompassed with a single wall, kerneled at the top, and fortified at the angles by circular forts or bastions, probably those which, as the great luminary of antiquity, Mr. Camden [e], tells us, were begun by King Edward the Fourth, and finished by King Henry the Seventh.

On the rampart next to the harbour is a flag flying, charged with Barré of four, Or, and Argent. At a small distance from the town, and near to the point, is the English camp, defended on that part of its front which faces towards St. Helen's, by a circular fort, mounted with four guns. All the tents and pavilions are paned, some blue and white, some red and white, and others red and yellow; and the principal of them surmounted by vanes charged with the arms of the respective commanders to whom they severally appertained. The King, mounted on a stately courser, whose headstall, reins, and stirrups, are studded and embossed with gold, is represented as riding from the town of Portsmouth, and just entering into Southsea Castle, in his way to the camp. He wears on his head a black bonnet, ornamented with a white feather, and is dressed in a jacquet of cloth of gold, and a surcoat or gown of brown velvet, with breeches and hose of white silk. His countenance appears serene and sedate. All the features of his face are highly finished; and the portrait hath by good judges been esteemed to be the greatest likeness we now have of that monarch. On his right hand are three henchmen or pages on foot, dressed in

[e] Brit. in Hampshire.

the royal uniform, and bearing their bonnets in their hands; and on his left hand are two lacqueys likewise on foot, dressed in different liveries. Behind the King are two persons on horseback; that on the right hand is the Duke of Suffolk, the King's lieutenant in this expedition, mounted on a black horse; he is dressed in a scarlet habit, and hath a black bonnet on his head: his beard is remarkably white, curled, and parted in the middle. The other is Sir Anthony Brown, the King's master of the horse, mounted on a white courser. These are followed by two demi-lancemen, horsed, and compleatly harnessed.

BETWEEN the camp and the fort on the point, is a large band of pikemen in armour; having with them two pair of colours displayed, the one charged with Barré of seven, Argent and Gules, and the other with the cross of St. George. Close to their left flank is a numerous band of gunners. Both of these corps seem to be marching from the main guard to the platform fronting the sea. This platform is interspersed with several persons, some of whom appear to be soldiers, and others merely spectators.

On the back of the Isle of Wight, off Bembridge Point, and thence stretching along shore to St. Helen's Road, is the numerous French fleet, all under their top-sails. Off that part which is known by the name of *No Man's Land*, are several French gallies; and still further inward are four more of the French gallies firing at the English fleet, which is lying at Spithead. The four last mentioned gallies are undoubtedly placed here, to represent and point out the position of those, which, as we are informed by du Bellai and Florenge, the French admiral had detached from his fleet under the conduct of the Baron de la Garde to provoke the English fleet, and bring on a general engagement. Behind the English squadron, on the shore on the Gosport side, are three large circular forts or bastions, each mounted by two tire

of

of cannon, one over the other, and casemated in such manner as to secure the gunners from all danger. Between the Spit and the entrance into Portsmouth Harbour, the mast heads of a large man of war appear just above the water; and near to them are two boats full of men, seemingly in great distress, rowing towards the English fleet, and several dead bodies and parts of rigging are seen floating on the water. This scene is intended to shew the fate of the *Mary Rose*, the second ship in point of size at that time belonging to the English navy, which ship sunk at the very beginning of the engagement between the two fleets, by which accident Sir George Carew, her commander, together with above six hundred men then on board, except about forty, perished in her. The English historians ascribe this accident to her being overladen with guns, her larger ones unbreeched, and her sea-ports open, so that in tacking the water entered, and she sunk immediately; and Mr. Burchet [p] tells us, that her loss was occasioned by a little sway, which overset her, her ports being made within sixteen inches of the water. The French writers [q] give a very different account; and insist that she was sunk by the terrible fire of their cannon, and that no more than thirty-five of the crew escaped. In this case, however, we may with the greater probability rely on what our own countrymen tell us, not only as they were the most likely to know the real fact, but as their account is in great measure confirmed by the Cowdry picture of which I am now speaking. The *Mary Rose* is here represented as just sunk, at a small distance from the tail of the Spit: and the headmost of the French ships is not nearer to her than St. Helen's Point, which is far beyond the reach of their guns; neither are any of

[p] Naval History, p. 340. Sir William Monson, in his Naval Tracts, says the same.

[q] Du Bellai. F. Daniel, Hist. de la Milice de la France. Gallard, Hist. de François I. &c.

those ships represented as firing; a circumstance which our painter, whose accuracy is remarkable, certainly would not have omitted had the *Mary Rose* been sunk by the enemy's fire. One of the four gallies before-mentioned is indeed represented as firing her prow gun towards the place where the *Mary Rose* sunk; but that galley lies at too great a distance from it, and even in case she had been actually within gun-shot, yet the weight of metal which the guns of such gallies usually carried was not sufficient to have effected such a catastrophe. Another of the French gallies is seen firing at the English Admiral's ship, who returns that fire with her bow-chases. This ship was the *Great Harry*, on board of which the High Admiral Viscount Lisle embarked. The royal standard of England is flying at her ensign-staff and jack staff; and at her main top-mast-head are hoisted the colours of St. George. This ship, the only one with the masts in the whole squadron, hath her quarters and sides, according to the practice of those times, fortified with targets, charged with the cross of St. George, and other heraldical devices, and is here represented as having all her sails set, and bearing down upon the French fleet. Of the rest of the English squadron some are under way, and others weighing their anchors, and their top-sails set. A little to the right of the English fleet are some of those pinnaces which the French called *Rambarges*, one of which is here represented under the stern of a French galley, raking her fore and aft. These pinnaces, which were longer than ordinary, in proportion to their breadth, and much narrower than the gallies, as the French historians acknowledge, vying in swiftness with their gallies, and, being well worked with oars and sails by our English sailors, bore down upon the French gallies with such impetuosity, and galled their sterns in such manner with their guns, the gallies having no

cannon on their poops, that the French apprehended nothing less than their total destruction.

As the principal ships in this picture are represented with port-holes for their guns, it may not be improper to observe, that, at the time of this engagement, that practice was not of a long standing, the making of such embrasures in the sides of ships for putting through the muzzles of their cannon being brought into use so late as the beginning of the sixteenth century. Previous to that time, they placed only a few cannon upon the deck of such ships as carried any, and upon the prow or poop, as is yet done in galleasses, and upon the prow of gallies [r].

THE subject of the before-described painting, so far as it is therein represented, is evidently handled with the greatest attention to truth; all is regular, circumstantial, and intelligible, nothing misrepresented, disguised, or confused. The further transactions of the two fleets must be gathered from the historians; and they agree, that the French navy, galled by the English pinnaces, and unable to draw our fleet into the main, twice landed some forces on the Isle of Wight, and on the coast of Sussex, without any success; and having, during the expedition, suffered a very considerable loss, retired, and stretching over to their own coast, never attempted to approach England again.

THE second compartment, as before observed, contains a bird's-eye view of the procession of King Edward the Sixth, from the Tower of London to Westminster, on Feb. 14, 1547 [s].

[r] The earliest representation of ships of war having port-holes for their guns, which I have hitherto met with, is in a very remarkable picture preserved at Cowdry, of the landing of the Emperor Charles V. at Dover, in the year 1520, under the convoy of the English fleet, commanded by the Earl of Southampton.

[s] Holinshed says, "he rode with as great roialtie as might be, the *street* being *hoong*, and pageants in divers places erected to testifie the good wille of the citizens." II. p. 979.

the day before that of his coronation. The procession is exhibited as coming out of the Tower of London going along Eastcheap and Gracechurch-street, thence down Cornhill, and so through Cheapside, which is in the center of the piece, and then continuing as far as the Temple.

OUR picture represents it in the following order.—After an undistinguished cavalcade, which are passing the conduit in Fleet-street, follow six bishops in their habits on horseback, riding three and three;—six ecclesiasticks, being the King's chaplains, wearing their bonnets, and riding three and three;—the archbishop of Canterbury's cross-bearer, bare-headed, and mounted on a bay horse, carrying the archiepiscopal cross;—the archbishop of Canterbury in a black gown, mounted on a bay horse, on which is a foot-cloth of black velvet, with headstall and reins of the same, studded with gold, on his right hand the Emperor's ambassador mounted likewise on a bay horse;—Garter King at arms, and the Lord Mayor of London, bearing the mace;—the Lord Protector, bare-headed, dressed in a gown of cloth of gold, and riding on a black horse, sumptuously caparisoned;—the King in a gown of cloth of gold, wearing his hat and feather, mounted on a stately courser, richly caparisoned, and under a canopy of cloth of gold, supported by staves of gold, carried by as many knights on horseback;—on the King's right hand five henchmen on foot, bare-headed, dressed in doublets of scarlet, yellow surcoats, and red stockings;—Sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse, mounted, and leading a horse of state, richly trapped:—a person in a long black cloak, with a black bonnet on his head, and mounted on a black horse;—yeomen of the guard and henchmen;—four horsemen in black, riding two and two;—and then a great number of persons on foot, who close the procession.

IN this piece the King appears as just arrived at the great conduit in Cheapside, whereon are placed a number of emblematic statues, the whole being richly ornamented with many elegant devices. The balconies and windows of all the houses on the left hand

hand side of the street are filled with ladies, and, together with walls from the very roofs downwards, appear to be covered with rich tapestry, cloth of gold, carpets, arras, and historical paintings, one whereof is evidently a copy from Raphael's famous picture of St. George on horseback, a print whereof is engraven by Vosterman; whilst the shop windows are set out with cups, vases, creuses, bekers, and other elegant pieces of goldsmiths work. The master of each house, in his best apparel, is standing at his shop door, and saluting the King. On the opposite side of the street the several crafts or companies, dressed in their livery gowns, with the master of each at its head, form a line from the entrance of the Poultry to the west end of Cheapside, where the aldermen are standing. Over the archway of Ludgate is a band of music, and sundry persons, representing by their dresses emblematical figures. Beyond Cheapside is a beautiful view of St. Paul's church, its chapter house, &c. and a triumphal arch. From Ludgate-hill to the Temple, which terminates the piece, the space is very open, having only two triumphal arches, and a few houses interspersed here and there. The back ground presents a view of London bridge, the church of St. Mary Overies, the bishop of Winchester's palace, the stews, and bankside [1].

THESE paintings have generally been ascribed to Hans Holbein; but they certainly are not the work of that master; neither the landskip, drawing, or colouring, are like his; and, upon the whole, they are somewhat inferior to any pictures now known to be the product of his pencil.

[1] Since the first edition of this volume, the Society have had a drawing made of this picture by Mr. Grimm, and have engaged Mr. Basire to make an engraving of it. The other pictures have all been copied by the former artist, and will either be preserved in the port-feuilles of the Society, or engraved for public use, as opportunity offers.

THE common opinion, that they were painted by Holbein, might probably arise from his having resided some time at Cowdry, where he was entertained by Sir Anthony Brown, and painted several excellent portraits, as also many of those fine heads which are now in the withdrawing-room on the ground floor next to the garden.

THE reign of King Henry the Eighth, as I mentioned in a former Memoir, furnished us with several other painters, the names of many of whom are remembered in the Anecdotes of Painting in England; as Anthony Toto, Luca Penne, Johannes Corvus, Jerome de Trevisi, Jenet, Theodore Bernardi, Hornebrand, or Horrebout, Nicholas Lyfard, Wright, Cornelli, &c. And it is most likely, that the paintings now under consideration were the work of one of these masters, who probably might have received some instructions in regard thereto from Holbein.

ABOUT the year 1519 one Theodore Bernardi painted in the south transept of Chichester cathedral the pictures of the Kings of England, and bishops of that see, and two historical pieces relative to the church, and afterwards settled with his family in that part of Suffex. We are likewise told, that Jerome de Trevisi, who was an engineer as well as a painter, attended King Henry the Eighth to the siege of Boulogne, in the former quality, and was there slain, and that some sketches of that and other sieges, drawn by his hand, are preserved in a book in the Cotton Library. May we not then reasonably conjecture, that the several paintings on the walls of the great dining parlour at Cowdry were painted either by this Bernardi, or by one of his pupils; and that, for the painter's more accurate description of the siege of Boulogne, he had possessed himself of some of those drawings, which at the time of the siege had been made by Trevisi?

COWDRY is situated so near to Chichester, which was the residence of Bernardi, that Sir Anthony Brown, by whose orders these
pictures

pictures were undoubtedly painted, may reasonably be supposed to have seen his performances in the cathedral of that city, and to have been otherwise informed of his abilities as an history painter. With equal probability we may suggest that Sir Anthony Brown, who attended the King in his expedition against Boulogne, was acquainted with Jerome de Trevisi, and had procured some, if not all the drawings which he had made of the siege of that place, and of the English encampments, in order that those circumstances might with the greater accuracy be represented in the pictures with which he intended to adorn his favourite Cowdry. Whoever was the painter, all further enquiry about him is unnecessary.

It is very justly remarked by the ingenious author of *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, that the histories, habits, and customs, of the times, represented in the paintings at Cowdry, make the room that contains them a singular curiosity; but when he proceeds to say, that they are its only merit, and that there is nothing good either in the designs, disposition, or colouring, I must dissent from him in that opinion.

In those history pieces which are in great measure the product of imagination, the subject may be treated, and the story told, in whatever manner the fertile genius of the master may suggest. Allegorical and emblematical figures may be introduced, and their form, attitude, dress, and grouping, may be conformable to the painter's sole will and pleasure; his landscapes, buildings, and embellishments, may be of his own formation; and the design, disposition, and colouring of the whole, may be such as he shall think best adapted to produce a good effect, and to form that, which, according to the rules of his art, may justly be pronounced a beautiful and masterly picture; but when an exact representation of some instructive and remarkable transaction that happened within the knowledge of the painter, together with all its attendant

ant circumstances, is intended to be recorded by his pencil, in order to preserve and hand down to posterity a just and compleat idea of the real fact exactly as it happened, the case is different; and he is in every respect confined to the faithful and minute observance of truth, accuracy, and exactness, and that without the least addition, diminution, or variation. It is upon such plan that his design must necessarily be formed. His landskip is to be the real face of the country whereon the business he is representing was transacted; and the buildings such, and such only, as then stood thereon. The disposition of those buildings, as well as of his figures, and all other things subservient to the story, must be such as in fact they actually were. The form and colours of his habits are to be such as the persons represented really wore at the time, and the colouring of every object in the piece must be that which really distinguished it, and belonged thereto. Under these circumstances the paintings in the dining parlour at Cowdry were evidently formed. Whoever will be at the pains of comparing them with the account and descriptions given of the transactions they represent, by the contemporary historians, and with the appearance of the country and buildings these pictures exhibit, will find, that the painter's pencil hath throughout the whole been guided by that strict conformity to truth and fact, which will more than sufficiently atone for any other defects in the requisites for producing a beautiful painting.

XXVIII. *Account of opening one of the largest Barrows on Sandford Moor, Westmoreland, in a letter from Mr. William Preston, dated Warcop Hall, Sept. 5, 1766, to Bishop Lyttelton.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Nov. 6, 1766.

THE labourers began by driving a level, and for some time found nothing worth notice. At length one of them, digging on the top of the barrow downwards, turned up, within half a yard from the surface, a piece of an urn, and soon after came to what he thought an urn, fixed in a large pot or vessel, and containing a small quantity of white ashes. On one side of it, but somewhat lower, lay a broad two-edged sword, broken in two, the whole blade measuring in length better than two feet, and two inches and an half broad; the head curiously wrought. On the other side lay the head of a spear, and some other instrument which Mr. Preston could not tell what to make of. All these instruments were nearly destroyed by rust. About a yard below these the workmen came to an orbicular pile of stones, resembling a vault, above seven yards in diameter, and above six yards high; the stones of various kinds, such as are not found on or near that moor. These were covered with a thick layer of dry sand, none of which had fallen in among them; which Mr. Preston accounts for, by supposing this covering to have been formerly of turf, with the heathy side downwards, which is now become sand. On removing this pile, they came to a fine black mould, about three inches deep, covering a square of about two yards, and lying as near as they could guess under the place where the sword, &c. were deposited. Here they found only some burnt bones. Under the whole lay a bed of gravel.

VOL. III.

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XXIX. *Dis-*

XXIX. Discoveries in a Barrow in Derbyshire. Communicated by Mr. Mander, of Bakewell, in the said County.

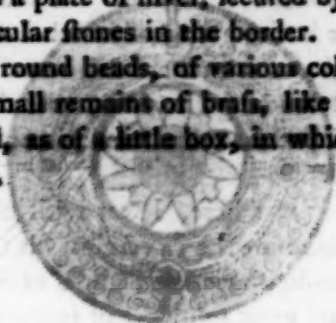
Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 17, 1768.

Vol. III. p. 274.



UPON the commons of *Winsor*, a village within the King's great manor *de Alto Pecco*, which were lately inclosed, are divers barrows, or tumuli, chiefly of stone; and among the rest one of earth, which the inhabitants account the more singular. This being lately opened, there were found in it two glass vessels, between eight and ten inches in height, with wide circular mouths, and a little bulge in the middle, and containing about a pint of water, of a light greenish colour, and exceeding limpid. With these was also found a silver collar or bracelet, about an inch broad, joining at the ends in dovetail fashion, and studded with human heads, and other small ornaments, secured

cured by rivets, which might occasionally be detached. Also an ornament of the size and fashion above represented, composed chiefly of filligree work, of gold or silver gilt, and set with garnets, or red glass. The inward part (*a*) is raised above the rest, and supposed to be gold. The partitions, marked (*b*), were filled with red glass or garnets; as were the four spots marked (*c*). The rest was filligree, or chain-work. The large stone which filled the socket in the centre is wanting. To the back of this ornament is affixed a plate of silver, secured by four rivets, lying under the four circular stones in the border. There were also several square and round beads, of various colours, of glass and earth, and some small remains of brass, like clasps and hinges, and pieces of wood, as of a little box, in which the ornaments had been deposited.



XXX. *Extract of a letter from the Reverend Mr. George Low, to Mr. Paton, of Edinburgh. Communicated by Mr. Gough.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 12, 19, 1773.

Stromness, Nov. 27, 1772.

THE traditions concerning the antiquities of this country are suprisingly vague, and little to be depended on. There are indeed many remains which bear the stamp of the remotest times; such as the burial-places of which I am going to speak, and the circles of stones which are still remaining on the Mainland; but all that can be gathered is, that they were formerly held in veneration, but for what reason is not to be by their accounts investigated.

WHEN Mr. Banks was here, I was with him every day, and he was pleased to make me the director of his Orkney tour. One day we went grave-digging in the Links of Skail, on the Mainland, where there are great numbers of tumuli, composed either of stones or sand, containing one or more coffins in rows, one above another: the bodies all naked except the bags of bones. Beads of stone and a species of lithanthrax were found in one, and in some bones of children of seven years old, the second crop of teeth appearing. None of the coffins are above four and a half feet long, and many less. The body, with the knees to the breast and legs along the thighs. The tumulus being once made up, might be opened again to receive a new coffin. In many of the coffins pretty large quantities of animal mould and bags as here mentioned. Other tumuli here have neither coffin nor urn; but bones burnt almost to vitrification, and masses of calcined matter with pieces of bones sticking to them: half a jaw in one, in others bones of horses and dogs. The tumulus seems raised immediately over the pile, as some lumps are hollow, and much discoloured, as if covered while smoaking.

A Bone taken out of one of the Barrows.



A Bone.



Barrow.

A View and a Section of the Antient Burial place in the Links of Skail in ORKNEY.

Barrow.

ing. There are many such tumuli and stone-coffins with in-tire bodies, in Sanda and Stroma. We pitched upon one tumulus which seemed never to have been moved since its first construction; and Mr. Banks ordered the people to begin at one side, and dig to the other, that we might see the whole fabric of it. It was of a flattish conical shape, something resembling the figure in the plate annexed*. After digging away a great quantity of sand, till we came near the centre of the hill, the people struck their spades on several large stones; upon which Mr. Banks ordered them to dig round them, and the whole construction appeared as I have sketched it with my pen; first, a large quantity of sand, then a large parcel of great stones, which seemed to have been taken from the neighbouring sea shore. When these were removed, the coffin or chest appeared, which was composed of four stones, covered with a very large fifth stone. In these lay the old gentleman (for so he appeared to be by his teeth, which were worn to the stumps, and the stumps filled with tartar) on his side, with his hands folded on his breast, his knees drawn up towards his belly, and his heels towards his hips. This was a highly preserved skeleton, notwithstanding the length of time it must have lain. All the bones remained, only they were softish till they hardened in the air. The flesh was like a whitish earth, lying about the bones of the thicker parts of the body; and on the arms, &c. was scattered a sort of blackish fibres, which Dr. Lind supposed might have been the vascular system. What was remarkable was, a bag of some very coarse vegetable stuff or rushes†, which was laid at his feet, and contained the bones

* Pl. XIII.

† Quære, If this bag was the *bulga* which Lucilius describes as the *all* of a person whom he satirizes (Sat. VI.) and whence Macaulay (St. Kilda, p. 52.) derives the name of *Firbolg*, the old Irish having scarce any thing more desirable than their bag.

Cum bulga cœnat, dormit, lavit: omnis in una
Res hominis bulga.

of

of a younger person, which seemed to have been a woman. Upon this were made many ingenious conjectures; that this might have been his wife, who died perhaps at thirty years of age, and might not have been buried till her husband died, and then her bones collected into this bag, and laid at his feet in the same grave. In examining a piece of this bag, to see whether it was made of a vegetable or animal substance, I discovered it to be full of a species of insects, called by Linnaeus *Dermestes*. These, together with the bag, were reduced to a blackish mass, which might be crumbled to powder between the fingers; but the warp and woof of the latter, as well as the entire shape of the insects, might easily be traced. There can be little said as to the antiquity of this, only that it was made before the introduction of Christianity.

XXXI. On the Expiration of the Cornish Language.
*In a Letter from the Hon. Daines Barrington, Vice
 Pres. S. A. to John Lloyd, Esquire, F. S. A.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, May 6, 1773.

DEAR SIR,

March 31, 1773.

THE precise time when any ancient language ceases to be spoken by the inhabitants of a country seems to be interesting not only to the philologist, but to the antiquary; I shall therefore desire you would lay before the Society the following particulars with regard to what I conceive to be the last spark of the Cornish tongue.

LELAND made a most complete tour through Cornwall in the reign of Henry VIII. and yet does not take notice of their speaking a language which he did not understand [a]. My inference from this his silence is, that it then prevailed almost universally, just as an English traveller into Wales would not now, in an account of his journey, inform his correspondent, that Welsh was chiefly used in the principality.

CAREW published his Survey of Cornwall in 1602; and observes, that the Cornish was then going very fast into disuse, because he takes notice, that most of the inhabitants "can no word of Cornish, which was driven into the uttermost skirts of the shire [b]."

NORDEN's History of Cornwall is supposed by the editor to have been compiled about the year 1610; and informs us, "that the Cornish language was chiefly used in the western hundreds of the county, particularly Penrith and Kerrier; and yet (which is to be marveyled) though the husband and wife, parents and children, master and servants, doe mutually communicate in

[a] See Leland's Itin. Vol. II. and III. How generally it prevailed in this reign see Borlase, Nat. Hist. of Cornwall, p. 315.

[b] Page 56.

“ their native language, yet there is none of them, in a manner,
 “ but is able to converse with a stranger in the English tongue,
 “ unless it be some obscure people, who seldom confer with the
 “ better sort ; but it seemeth, however, that in a few years the
 “ Cornish language will be by little and little abandoned [c].”

IN 1662 Cornwall was visited by that great naturalist, Mr. Ray, who paid very particular attention to the language spoken in different parts of England, as appears by his having collected their peculiar words and proverbs.

WE find accordingly in his Itineraries (published by Mr. Scott, F. A. S.) “ that Mr. Dickan Gwyn was considered as the only
 “ person who could *then* write in the Cornish language,
 “ and who lived in one of the most western parishes called St.
 “ Just, where there were few but what could speak English ;
 “ whilst few of the children also could speak Cornish, so that the
 “ language would be soon entirely lost [d].”

MR. RAY observes in another part, that Mr. Dickan Gwyn (whom he mentions as the only person who could *write* Cornish) was no grammarian ; and that another man, named Pendarvis, was upon the whole perhaps better skilled in it, by which I conclude he means that Pendarvis was supposed to speak it with greater purity, though he did not write in that language as Dickan Gwyn did.

THE last printed account which I have happened to meet with in relation to the decay of the Cornish tongue, is in a letter dated March 10, 1701, from Lhwyd to Rowland (author of the *Mona Antiqua*), who observes, that it was then only retained in five or six villages towards the Land's End [e].

THUS far with regard to written testimonies : I shall now proceed to oral.

MY brother Captain Barrington brought a French East India ship into Mount's Bay, in the year 1746 (to the best of my recol-

[c] Page 26, 27.

[d] Page 281.

[e] See *Mona Ant.* p. 317. (lection),

lection), who told me, that when he sailed from thence on a cruise toward the French coast, he took with him from that part of Cornwall a seaman who spoke the Cornish language, and who was understood by some French seamen of the coast of Bretagne, with whom he afterwards happened to have occasion to converse. Yet Dr. Borlase [f] denies that the Bretons, Welsh, and Cornish can understand each other.

I MYSELF made a very complete tour of Cornwall in 1768; and recollecting what I had thus heard from my brother, I mentioned to several persons of that county, that I did not think it impossible I might meet with some remains of the language, who however considered it as entirely lost.

I set out from Pensance however with the landlord of the principal inn for my guide, towards the Sennan, or most western point; and when I approached the village, I said, that there must probably be some remains of the language in those parts, if any where, as the village was in the road to no place whatsoever; and the only alehouse announced itself to be *the last in England*. My guide however told me, that I should be disappointed; but that if I would ride ten miles about in my return to Pensance, he would carry me to a village called Mousehole, on the western side of Mount's Bay, where there was an old woman called Dolly *Pentraeth* [g.] who could speak Cornish very fluently. Whilst we were travelling together towards Mousehole, I inquired how he knew that this woman spoke Cornish, when he informed me, that he frequently went from Pensance to Mousehole to buy fish, which were sold by her; and that when he did not offer a price which was satisfactory, she grumbled to some other old women in an unknown tongue, which he concluded therefore to be the Cornish.

WHEN we reached Mousehole, I desired to be introduced as a person who had laid a wager that there was no one who could converse in Cornish; upon which Dolly *Pentraeth* spoke in an

[f] Ubi sup.

[g] This name in Welsh signifies, *at the end of the sand.*

angry tone of voice for two or three minutes, and in a language which sounded very like Welsh.

THE hut in which she lived was in a very narrow lane, opposite to two rather better cottages, at the doors of which two other women stood, who were advanced in years, and who I observed were laughing at what Dolly Pentraeth said to me.

UPON this I asked them whether she had not been abusing me ; to which they answered, *very heartily, and because I had supposed she could not speak Cornish*. I then said, that they must be able to talk the language ; to which they answered, that they could not speak it readily ; but that they understood it, being only ten or twelve years younger than Dolly Pentraeth. I stayed nine or ten days in Cornwall after this ; but found that my friends, whom I had left to the eastward, continued as incredulous almost as they were before, about these last remains of the Cornish language, because (amongst other reasons) Dr. Borlase had supposed, in his Natural History of the county, that it had entirely ceased to be spoken [g]. It was also urged, that as he lived within four or five miles of the old woman at Mousehole, he consequently must have heard of so singular a thing as her continuing to use the vernacular tongue.

I HAD scarcely said or thought any thing more about this matter, till last summer, having mentioned it to some Cornish people,

[g] Dr. Borlase's words are the following ; " That we may attend it to the grave ; this language is now altogether ceased, so as not to be spoken any where in conversation." Nat. Hist. of Cornwall, p. 316. If Dr. Borlase had ever heard of this old woman, who lived within four miles of him, he would certainly have here made mention of her, as well as completed from her his Cornish Vocabulary. Nor was it probably the fact in 1758, (when Dr. Borlase published his Natural History) that the language had *altogether ceased, so as not to be spoken any where in conversation*, because it is not impossible that the seamen who was on board Captain Barrington's ship in 1746 might be then still alive, as well as several others. It must also be recollected, that, ten years after Dr. Borlase's publication, two old women (neighbours to Dolly Pentraeth) understood what she said ; as also that she frequently grumbled to them in Cornish, when a proper price was not offered for her fish.

I found that they could not credit that any person had existed within these five years who could speak their native language; and therefore, though I imagined there was but a small chance of Dolly Pentraeth's continuing to live, yet I wrote to the President, then in Devonshire, to desire that he would make some inquiry with regard to her; and he was so obliging as to procure me information from a gentleman whose house is within three miles of Mousehole, a considerable part of whose letter I shall subjoin.

"DOLLY PENTRAETH is short of stature, and bends very much with old age, being in her eighty-seventh year, so lusty however as to walk hither (viz. to Castle Horneck) above three miles in bad weather, in the morning, and back again. She is somewhat deaf, but her intellects seemingly not impaired; has a memory so good, that she remembers perfectly well, that about four or five years ago at Mousehole (where she lives) she was sent for to a gentleman, who, being a stranger, had a curiosity to hear the Cornish language, which she was famed for retaining and speaking fluently; and that the inn-keeper, where the gentleman came from, attended him."

[THIS gentleman was myself; however, I did not presume to send for her, but waited upon her.]

"SHE does indeed at this time talk Cornish as readily as others do English, being bred up from a child to know no other language; nor could she (if we may believe her) talk a word of English before she was past twenty years of age; that, her father being a fisherman, she was sent with fish to Pensance at twelve years old, and sold them in the Cornish language, which the inhabitants in general (even the gentry) did then well understand. She is positive, however, that there is neither in Mousehole, or in any other part of the county, any person who knows any thing of it, or at least can converse in it. She is poor, and maintained partly by the parish, and partly by fortune-telling, and gabbling of Cornish."

I HAVE thus thought it right to lay before the Society this account of the last sparks of the Cornish tongue, and cannot but think that a linguist (who understands Welsh) might still pick up a more complete vocabulary of the Cornish than any we are at present possessed of, especially as the two neighbours of this old woman, whom I have had occasion to mention, are not now above 77 or 78 years of age, and were very healthy when I saw them, so that the whole does not depend upon the life of this Cornish Sibyl, as she is willing to insinuate.

IF it is said that I have stated that these neighbours could not speak the language, this should be understood, that they cannot converse so readily in it as she does, because I have mentioned that they comprehended her abuse upon me, which implies a certain knowledge of the Cornish tongue. Thus the most learned men of this country cannot speak Latin fluently, for want of practice; yet it would be very easy to form a Latin vocabulary from them.

IT is also much to be wished, that such a linguist would go into the Isle of Man, and report to the Society in what state that expiring language may be at present.

As for the Welsh, I do not see the least probability of its being lost in the more mountainous parts; for as there are no valuable mines in several of the parishes thus situated, I do not conceive that it is possible to introduce the use of English. The present inhabitants therefore and their descendants will continue to speak their native language in those districts; for the Welsh cannot settle in England, because they cannot speak the tongue; nor will English servants for husbandry live with the Welsh, because they would not understand their masters. I am, dear Sir,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

XXXII. *On the Descent of Titles of Honour, particularly Baronies, through the Female Line: Transcribed from a MS. of Mr. Sayntlowe Kniveton* *.

Read at the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, JUNE 17, 1773.

To the Reverend Mr. NORRIS, Secretary.

REV. SIR,

THE papers inclosed herewith, partly law, and partly history, I have taken from an old (and I think authentic) MS. in my custody. What I have copied thereout seems to have been compiled to shew that dignities and titles of honour are constitutionally preserved and derived down in families by the female descendants, particularly baronies; about which in those times perhaps some questions were agitated. Claims of that kind are sometimes advanced in our days: I therefore send these sheets to our brethren of the Antiquary Society; and if they are thought proper memoirs to be read there, and give some amusement to the gentlemen, I shall be agreeably satisfied. The number of pedigrees I was induced to transcribe from what I have observed in the first volume of papers published by the Society, wherein the worthy President, Dr. Milles, has remonstrated against Mr. Walpole's relation in favour of Richard the Third, in which I think the pedigree of Tyrrell, supposed to be the principal agent in destroying the young princes, a striking proof of that fact; and that pedigrees are in many respects useful. At the beginning of the MS. volume is that paragraph which I have prefixed to these papers. If they are worthy of notice, and can be shortened, or

* Mr. St. Loe was a Derbyshire gentleman, and a good antiquary. His collections are for the most part in the Yelverton library, but Le Neve had three or four volumes of them. He is quoted in *Monast. Anglic.* I. 572-3; for transcribing from the register of Swavesey Abbey, in Cambridgeshire; and he is frequently quoted in Thoroton's Nottinghamshire. A MS. history by him of the earls of Arundel from the conquest to his own time, was bought at Le Neve's sale, (N^o 845) by Mr. West.

any

any way altered, to bring them within the rules and intentions of the Society, I desire that may be done; and it will oblige,

Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Goodwickhall, near Swaffham, in Norfolk, March
10, 1772.

RALPH CAULDWELL.

In 1606 this Booke was copyed out of the Originall compiled by Mr. Sayntlowe Kniveton, a great Antiquary in those Times.

JOHAN VESEY was summoned to parliament anno 49 Henry III, and there had place and title of a Baron of England; which honour and dignitie came after to William Aton, by Margerie, the only daughter and heir of Warin Vefey, who was married to Sir Gilbert Aton, knight, auncester to the said Sir William Aton, which William had issue three daughters and coheirs, viz. Anastace, married to Sir Edward St. John, knight; Katherine, married to Sir Raphe Over; and Elizabeth, married to Sir John Cogniers. Sir Edward St. John had by Anastace his wife a daughter and heir called Margaret, who was married to Sir Thomas Bromfleete, who had issue Sir Henrie Bromfleete, Baron of Vefey in the right of his grandmother, though the said Sir Henrie was by writ, dated the 22d day of Januarie, in the 27 year of King Henrie the Sixt, summoned to parliament by the name of Henrie Bromfleete, knight, Baron of Vefey, with this singular odd clause, the like whereof is not again to be found in any such writt, *We will that you, and the beires males of your bodie, shall be Baron of Vefey* [Clausula de anno 27 Hen. VI. membrana 24 in dorso:] whereas, notwithstanding that, the descendants from the said daughter and heir of that Bromfleete were evermore reputed and taken for Barons of Vefey, and so in divers patents of sundrie

drie Kings, and in several offices and inquisitions found, and other matters of record, as if that restraint or limitation in the writt had not been at all, or were indeed of no sufficient validity to restrain the true right of fee simple in the Baronie.

Theis reasons were alledged by Margaret Russell, Countess Dowager of Cumberland, on behalfe of her only daughter Ann, her claim to the Baronie of Vefey.

“ THIS cause being a matter of Chivalrie, the laws whereof be partly martiall, fit for the field, and partly civill, of the use of arms and tytles, it seemeth to the said Ladie, that the same is not determinable by the comon lawes of this realme, as by sundrie examples appeareth that the like causes have been usuallie discussed and determined in the Court of Chivalrie, before the High Constable and Marshall of England, namelie the plea betwixt Reynold Lord Gray of Ruthin, and Sir Edward Hastings, in the time of King Henrie the Fourth, for the stile and armes of the Lord Hastings, houlden as parcell of the inheritance, and claimed by the woman as theis stiles of Baronies are, as also by old custome in marshalling and placing of great estates, contrarie to the comon lawes of the land.

THE comon lawe no where teacheth, that all the daughters of an Earle should imediate upon the father's creation, be Ladies; and that as well those borne before the creation, as those borne after.

THE comon lawe saith not, that if an Earle's daughter marie with an Esquire, she houldeth still her place and name; and that she loseth both marrying with a Baron, but is of a contrarie sentence.

BY maxime of the comon lawe no estate of inheritance passeth but by theis words to the donee and his heirs; but the gift of the title of a Baron by writ is otherwise.

By

By the comon lawe the King's gift is not good but by his letters patente, and that by speciall woordes of graunt; but in the writt of summons there are no woordes of graunt, neither mencion of Lord or Baron, but Knight, of such a place called for his advice and counsell to be given in the parliament, wherebie no couller may be gathered by the lawe of creation and erection of the person into the state of a Baron, and least of all to be expounded to the state of inheritance as notwithstanding it is, as before is shewed.

By the comon lawe none may be called Lord of the Mannor of Dale, having not so much as a couller of right to it. But by the lawes of Chivalrie a man may be Earle of a countrie having no right nor interest to it, nor one foote of land in it, and Baron of a place being the inheritance of a straunger.

By the comon lawe the stile and dignitie of the auncester cometh not to the heire, the auncester living; but by lawe of Chivalrie, the father being of a Baron made an Earle, the son is immediatlie invested in the title of his father's Baronie, without woordes of ceremonie, and contrarie to the woordes of entaile.

THE rule of theis and such like cases is not one and the same in all countries: but the custome of everie countrie is to be observed within the same for lawe, which all the doctors of the civill lawe agree uppon; namely, that titles and matters of dignitie and honour are to be ordered and ruled by the customes of every countrie. They set it down for a principle, that *Consuetudo in unaquaque regione est omnium dignitatum et jurisdictionum forma et principium*. And Baldus sayth, *Consuetudini standum est disponenti de nobilitate, et consuetudines loci faciunt quem nobilem, qui alias non esset nobilis*. And to this effect for Spaine, John Stara saith, that *Causae nobilitatis sunt merè peculiares nostrae Hispaniae*,

paniae, et quodammodo sunt anomalae, ideo non possunt proprie determinari per leges Romanorum, sed de jure nostro.

As in Jermaine, the creation of a Duke advanceth not the children of the person created before the creation, in England it is otherwise.

WOMEN by birth in Germany enjoy the titles of Dutcheßes, Countesses, and Baroneßes; yet are unable to enjoy the Dukedomes, Counties, and Baronies.

In England, France, and Spayne, women are capable of both, if in the graunt noe lymitation be to the heires males.

AND of all other states the question is least doubtful in the state of a Baron; for all authors agree, that higher estates were in the beginning only names of office, and not of inheritance. But the name of a Baron was a state joyned with fee, with jurisdiction over his owne vassalls in his owne territories, as may appear by the antiquitie of Court Barons; and the Dutch word for a Baron expoundeth the same, calling him *Free Heron*, that is, Lord within himself.

ENGLAND, France, and Spayne, differ little in customes to Barons appartenant; in which countries, after the death of a Baron without heir male, the eldest females issue next in kindred on the father's side as heir general succeedeth in the dignitie and best part of the patrymonie, after division justlie made.

THIS custome hath continued in all ages since the Norman Conquest, is proved by examples, and the reasons whie it should do ensue.

FIRST, the example of the best governed and most noble kingdoms who use the like.

THEN the principal rule of the lawe, *Reipublicae interest quod ordinum dignitas familiarumque salva sit.* Cassaneus.

CASSANEUS saith, *Est quoddam jus quod datur unicuique agnationis suae familiae, quod non videtur posse transire ex illa; and he putteth for that right, arma et nomina familiae, quae gradatim deveniunt ad successores, et alienari non possunt.*

FURTHER he saith, that, in default of heirs, names and armies may be alienated by devise in testament in theis woordes, *Arma et nomen domus et familiae legari, sive concedi possunt cum hereditate aliena, si non super sit successor ne familia, et cogitur legatarius nomen et arma gerere, alioquin perdit suam haereditatem.*

THEIS lawes shew a natural studie and care for the conservation of dignities in auncient houses, without respect of sex.

THE most of the auncient Earles of England enjoy their tyttles descended unto them from women of their Baronies, which they hold neither by letters patents, nor by writ, but by the continuance of that custome, which proveth the lawfulness thereof sufficientlie for them, and then whie not rather for the next heire female, whereas that dignitie came and was deprived to them from woemen.

LIKEWISE everie Baron having two Baronies, soeasmuch as the writ mentioneth onlie one, if this custome were not, must blot out the other.

It is further to be considered, that by this custome it is most cleere, that a Baronie with the stile and dignitie ought to descend to the eldest daughter or heire collaterall to everie Baron; if there be more than one, the Baron dyinge without issue male, if the said Baronie were first established by writ, much more to the sole daughter and right heire. Wether the alteration or change of that custome may be beneficiall to the comon wealth, which surely seemeth not unless any be so impudent to maintain, that the entertheyning of the estate of Barons is danger-

ous; which hitherto hath been reputed as a brazen wall to the imperial crowne of this realme, and whie should this right now be more offensive amongst us than in all former ages, and to us more than all countries round about us, unless as grave pollicie brought it first in, impatient envie would now drive it out.

THOMAS Lord La War, in the 30th yeare of the reigne of our late Sovereigne Queen Elizabeth, what time he was summoned to the parliament, where, by petition to her Majestie, he desired allowance of that seate and place in parliament which Thomas Lord La Warr, his grandfather, had, by reason of his summons, in the third year of King Henry the Eighth, although it were objected against him, that William Lord La Warr, his father, having been attaynted by parliament, anno 2 et 3 Phi. et Mariae, was after restored anno 5 Eliz. and by the letters patents of the same Queen created Baron La Warr, to him and his heires males of his body, anno 8^o ejusdem Reginae. Yet then it was held cleere by the opinion of Periam, then Lord Cheife Baron of the Exchequer, that the acceptation of that new creation by his father by such letters patents did not extinguish the ancient dignitie descended to the said Lord La Warr then from his auncestors. And accordingly the said Thomas Lord La Warr was allowed and admitted to take his place in the said parliament betwixt the Lord Willoughbie and the Lord Berkeley."

Theis reasons were alledged for the Lady Fane, in her suit for the Barony of Abergavenny.

THAT by the lawes of the realme, dignities conferred by the King's writ of summons to parliament descend to females, where there is a sole heire, and not coheires, and that the alienations of the possessions cannot alter the lawe.

THE call by writ is an ennobling of the bloud, and therefore deriveth the nobilitie as the blood is derived, and hath no special words of limitation to what heires, as letters patents have; and therefore the lawe intendeth the heire general such as the common lawe knoweth for an heire.

THE statute of entayles was made anno 13 E. I. the call by writ was in use in Henry the Third's time, and before, and therefore could be no entayle to be called so, for that such manner of calling was before there was any entayle.

THERE was never yet so much as a custome hard of it in any part of the realme that excluded females, though in other pointes divers customes do crosse the course of descents at the common lawe.

THE descent to females is not restrayned to corporal inheritance only, but extendeth also to incorporal, as offices, liberties, and the like, even to the highest offices in England that a subject can beare. As Humphrey de Bohune, Earle of Hereford and Essex, held certain mannors of the King to be constable of England, and he had issue two daughters, and dyed; and it was holden by all the judges in England, upon a claime made by Edward the last Duke of Buckingham, anno 6 H. VII. that before marriage they might make a sufficient deputie to exercise this office for them; and that, after marriage, the husband of the eldest daughter might exercise it alone.

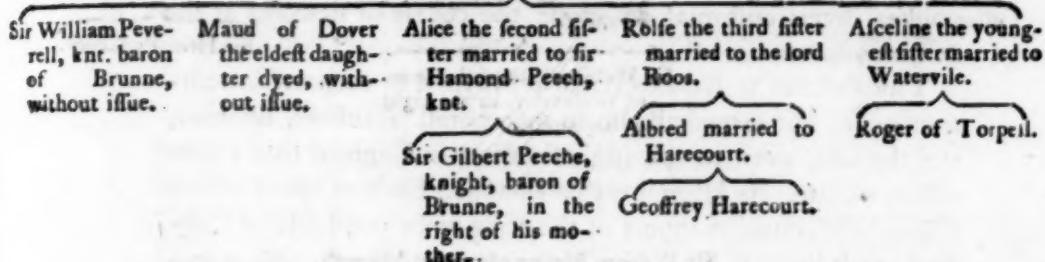
THE office of an Earle Marshall, the tenure by being a Champion at the Coronation, is as incompatible with that sex as to be a counsellor in parliament; rather more; and yet they have been ruled to descend to females; and so is the champion-shipp at this day descended to Sir Edward Dymock."

EXAM.

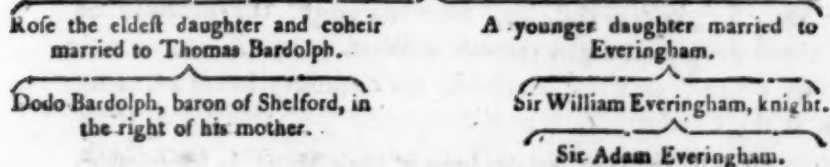
EXAMPLES of such as, after the decease of a baron or peere of the realme without issue male, in right of their wives, mothers, grandmothers, and great-grandmothers, haveing been eldest daughters or co-heirs to the said baron, have enjoyed the style and dignitie of the said baronie, according to the most auncient usage and laudable custome of this realme of England, and other realmes christened.

Divers of their houses, to whom baronies descended by woemen heires, were not barons; either in regard they refused to take it upon them (as in their choice it rested, unless the king compelled them by writts), or els in that they were deemed no persons meete for the place, in respect of some defect which might not be borne with in such a peere.

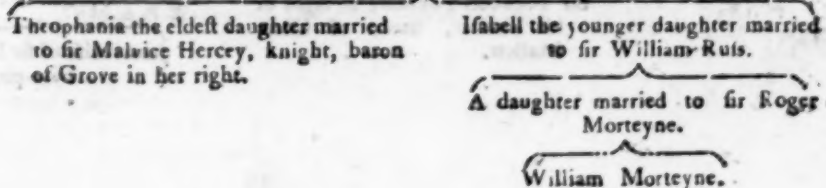
Sir Pagan Peverell, knight, baron in Cambridgeshire,
in king Stephen's tyme.



Raphe Hanselm, baron of Shelford, in Nottinghamshire.



Sir William of Arches, knight, baron of Grove nere Retford, in Nottinghamshire, in king John's tyme.



Hubert

Hubert of Rye, baron of Hengham, in Norfolk,
in king John's tyme.

Ann daughter and co-heir married to
sir John Marshall, baron of Heng-
ham in the right of his wife.

Isabell the younger daughter, married
to sir Roger Cressie.

Stephen Cryssy.

Sir Gerard Lindefey, baron of Wolverley, in Hertfordshire,
in king John's tyme.

Sir John Lyndefey, baron of
Wolverley, died without
issue.

Basile the eldest siter married
to sir Gerard Odingfells, a
Fleming.

Alice youngest daughter, wife
of sir Henry Pynkeney.

Sir Hen. Pynkeney.

Sir William Odingfells, baron
of Wolverley, in the right
of his mother.

Sir William Merley, baron of Morpath.

Marie the eldest daughter, wife of
William Graystock.

Isabell the younger daughter, married
to Robert of Somervile.

Sir William Graystock, baron of
Morpath, in right of his mother.

Sir Philip Somervile.

Sir William Mallet, knight, baron of Corie Mallet, in Somersetshire,
in king Hen. III's time

William Mallett, baron,
died without issue.

Helewise the elder siter and co-heir
married to sir Hugh Poyntze.

Mabilla married to Hugh de
Vinson.

Sir Nicholas Poyntze, in right of
his mother, baron of Corie
Mallett.

William de Vinon.

Joane wife of sir Reginold
Fitz-pierce.

Sir Gilbert Lacie, knight, baron of Ewias Lacie, in Herefordshire,
in king Hen. III's tyme.

Sir Walter Lacy, knt. baron
of Ewias Lacy, died with-
out issue,

Maud the elder sister, married
to Gefferey Jenvill, baron
of Ewias in the right of
his wife.

Margaret married to John
Verdon, knight.

Theobald lord Verdon of
Alveton.

Sir Robert Vipount, knight, baron of Westmerland,
in king Hen. III's tyme.

Isabell the elder daughter, married to sir
Roger Clifford, knt. in her right ba-
ron of Westmerland.

Idonia the younger daughter married
to sir Roger Leyburn.

Sir William Leyburn.

Thomas Leyburn.

Sir Robert of Alfreton, baron of Norton,
in king Hen. III's tyme.

Sir Thomas of Alfreton, baron of
Norton, died without issue.

Alice the elder sister married to
William Chaworth

Avicie the second sister married
to sir Robert Latham.

Sir Thomas Chaworth, in right
of his mother, baron of Notton.

Sir Thomas Latham, knt.

Sir Hugh of Crevequer, baron of Folkestone, in Kent,
in king Hen. III's tyme.

Agnes the eldest daugh-
ter married to John
Sandwich, in her
right baron.

Isolda, married to Ni-
cholas Lenham.

John Lenham.

Helen the third daugh-
ter, married to Ber-
tram of Cryell.

Joan married to Ri-
chard Roostley.

Isabell the fourth
daughter married to
Gilbert of Gaunt.

Sir John of Sandwich
baron of Folkeston.

Julian daughter and
heir married to sir
John Segrave, in her
right baron of Folke-
ston.

Sir Robert Muschamp, baron of Wolovere, in Northumberland,
in king Hen. III's tyme.

Ciceley the eldest daughter,
married to Ordonell of
De Forde.

Isabell daughter and heir, mar-
ried to Sir Adam Wighton,
in her right baron of Wol-
vere.

Marie the second daughter,
married to the earle of Stra-
therne in Scotland.

Mary Mirabell
daughter and co-heirs.

Isabell the third daughter
married to William of Hun-
tercombe.

Sir Walter of Huntercombe.

Sir William Cantelupe, baron of Bergavenny, in Wales,
in king Edw. I's tyme.

Sir George Cantelupe, baron
of Abergavenny, dyed with-
out issue.

Joane the elder sister and co-
heir, married to sir John
Hastings, in her right baron
of Abergavenny.

Sir John Hastings, baron of
Abergavenny.

Milicent the younger sister
married to Eudo lord la
Zouch, lord of Harring-
worth.

William lord Louch of Har-
ringworth.

Edward lord Louch of Har-
ringworth.

Sir John Tresfox, baron of Ewias Harold,
in king Edw. I's tyme.

Claricia the elder daughter, married to
Roger de la Ware, baron in her
right.

Sibell the younger daughter, married
to William Grauntson, knight.

Sir Otho Grandson, knight.

Sir Thomas Grandson, knight.

Sir Walter Livett, baron of Warden, in Northamptonshire,
in king Edw. I's tyme.

Alice the elder daughter, married to
William Latimer the younger, baron
of Warden in her right, in his fa-
ther's life-time.

Christiane the younger daughter, mar-
ried to John Latimer.

Thomas Latimer.

Warine Latimer.

Sir Robert Creke, baron of Creke, in Norfolk,
in king Edward Ist's tyme

Bartholomew Creke, baron of Creke, dyed without issue.	Denis dyed without issue.	Agnes without issue.	Cicely without issue.	Margaret married to John Thorp.	Isabell married to Vallomes.
				Robert Thorp.	Rob. Vallomes.
				Sir John Thorp, baron of Creke in right of his grandmother.	Rose married to Edmund Pa- kenham.

Sir Richard Lucie, baron of Egremont, in Cumberland,
in king Edward Ist's tyme.

Mabell married to Lambert Moulton.	Alice, the younger daughter, married to Lucie.
Thomas Moulton, baron of Egremont in the right of his mother.	Sir Thomas Lucie, knight.

Sir Phillip Marmion, baron of Tamworth,
in king Edward Ist's tyme.

Joane the eldest daughter married to William Mortein, dyed without issue.	Mauzare the second daughter married to Ralph Cromwell.	Maud the third daughter married to Ralph Botiller.	Joane the younger daughter wife to Thomas Ludlowe.
	Joane daughter and heire to Mauzare, married Alexander Frevill, in his wife's right baron Tamworth.	Ralph Botiller.	Thomas Ludlowe.
			Margaret wife to John Dymock.

Sir John Bellewe, knight, baron of Carlton, in York,
temp. Edw. Primi.

Sibell the eldest daughter wife to sir Miles Stapleton.	Joane the younger daughter married to sir Aucher Fitz-Henrie, knight.
Sir Nicholas Stapleton, baron of Carleton.	Henrie Fitz-Aucher.
	Aucher Fitz-Henrie.

Sir Raph Musfarte, baron of Staveley, in Derbiethire,
temp. Edw. Primi.

Sir Raph Musfarte, baron of Staveley.	Sir Nicholas Mu- farte, baron of Staveley after his nephew, dyed without issue.	Avice the eldest sis- ter married to Au- cher Fretchvile.	Margaret the se- cond sister.	Isabell the third sister.
Sir John Musfarte, baron of Staveley.		Raph Fretchvile, ba- ron of Staveley, in his mother's right.		Joane wife of John Shelaston.

Sir Robert of Tattershall, baron of Buckenham, in Norfolk,
in king Edward IId's tyme.

Sir Robert Tattershall, baron of Bucken- ham.	Emme the eldest sister married to sir Olbert Cailie, knight.	Joane the second sis- ter wife of Robert Drybie.	Isabell the third sister married to sir John Orreby, knight.
Sir Robert Tattershall, baron of Bucken- ham, died without issue.	Sir Thomas Cailie, ba- ron of Buckenham, in the right of his mother.	Alice, wife of William Barnack.	Sir Phillip Orreby.
	Marie wife of sir Ro- ger Clifton.	Sir John Barnack.	Sir John Orrebie.

Sir William Odingfells, knight, baron of Mackstock, in Warwickshire,
in the tyme of king Edward II.

Ida the eldest daughter married to Sir John Clinton, knight.	Margaret second daughter wife of John lord Gray of Rotherfield.	Ela third daughter wife of Berming- ham,	Alice the fourth daug- ter married to Tho- mas Cauntton.
Sir John Clinton, ba- ron of Mackstock, in the right of his mo- ther.	John lord Gray of Ro- therfield.		

Sir John Beke, knight, baron of Eresbie, in Lincolnshire,
in king Edward Ild's tyme.

Alice the eldest daughter married to sir
Robert Willoughbie.

Margaret the younger daughter mar-
ried to Richard Harecourt.

Sir John Willoughbie, baron of Eresbie,
in his mother's right.

John Harecourt.

William Harecourt.

Sir Theobald Verdon, knight, baron of Webley, in Herefordshire,
in king Edward II's tyme.

Joane the eldest daughter
married to Thomas Furni-
vall the younger, baron of
Webley in the right of his
wife.

Elizabeth wife of
sir Bartholomew
Burghersh.

Margerie married to Wil-
liam Blount, after to
Mark Husee, and lastly
to sir John Crophill.

Isabell wife of Hen-
ry lord Ferrers of
Grobie.

Sir William Ferrers
of Grobie.

Henry lord Ferrers
of Groby.

Thomas Furnivall dyed 14
Edw. III. vide Inq. N^o 26.

Joane daughter and heire
married to sir Thomas Ne-
ville lord Furnivall; ille
obijt 8 H. IV. N^o 62.

Maude daughter and heire,
the first wife of John Tal-
bott the first Earl of Shrews-
burie of that name, lord Tal-
bott, Verdon, Furnivall, &c.

Here it may be observed, that in the Partition of the lands belonging to their four daughters and co-heires, the castle of Webley with the members thereunto appertaining (which was the barony whereof sir Theobald Verdon their father was denominated baron) was allotted to Margerie the younger daughter and to Mark Husee her husband, inter Fines de termino Pasche, A^o 11 H. IV. Rot. 2. Heref. e Scaccario ex parte Osborne, which proveth plainly that the eldest sister and her issue may carry away the dignitie though not the land.

Sir Roger Someray, knight, baron of Dudley,
in king Edward Ild's tyme.

Sir John Someray, knight,
baron of Dudley, with-
out issue.

Margaret the elder sister
married to sir John Sut-
ton.

Joane the younger sister, wife of
sir Thomas Bottitort lord of
Weiligh.

Sir John Sutton, baron of
Dudley, in the right of his
mother.

Sir John Bottitort lord of Weligh.

Sir Hugh Mortimer, knight, baron of Richard's Castle,
in king Edward III's tyme.

Joane the elder daughter married to sir
Richard Tabott, baron of Richard's
Castle in the right of his wife.

Margaret the second daughter, wife of
Jefferey Cornewall.

Sir Richard Cornewall of Burford, knt.

Sir Hugh St. John, knight, baron of Basinge.

Sir John St. John, knight,
baron of Basinge, dyed
without issue.

Margarett the elder sister, wife of
sir John St. Philbert, baron of
Basinge in her right, without
issue.

Isabell the youngest sister mar-
ried to Luke Poynings, knight,
baron of Basinge in his wife's
right.

Sir Thomas Poynings, baron St.
John of Basinge.

Sir Hugh Poynings, knight.

Sir Adam, baron of Swinburne, in Northumberland,
in king Edward III's tyme.

Sir Adam Swinborn,
baron, dyed without
issue.

Barnabe the eldest sister
wife of sir John Stri-
vellin, in her right
baron.

Christiane married to
Woodrington.

Gerard Woodrington.

Elizabeth the third sis-
ter married to Heron.

William Heron.

Sir Gilbert of Gaunt, knight, baron of Folkingham, in Lincolnshire,
in king Edward III's tyme.

Sir Gilbert of Gaunt
baron of Folking-
ham, dyed without
issue.

Margarett the eldest
sister married to sir
Richard Kerdeston.

Sir Roger Kerdeston, ba-
ron of Folkingham in
his mother's right.

Nichole the second sis-
ter, wife of sir Peter
Maudley of Mulgrave.

Sir Peter Maudley.

Sir Peter Maudley.

Joane the third sister.

Sir Brian Fitz-Alleyn, knight, baron of Bedall, in Richmondshire,
in king Edward III's tyme.

Agnes the eldest daughter married to
sir Gilbert Stapleton, knight.

Katherine the younger daughter married
to John lord Grey of Rotherfeld.

Sir Miles Stapleton, baron of Bedall
in his mother's right.

Joane married to John Lord Deincourte.

Sir Edward Charleton, knight, baron of Powis, in Wales,
in king Edward III's tyme.

Joane the elder daughter, wife of sir
John Gray.

Joane the younger daughter married to
John lord Tiptoft.

Sir Henrie Gray, baron of Powis in
the right of his mother.

John earl of Worcester.

Sir Marmaduke, baron of Tweng of Kilton Castle, in Yorkshire,
in king Richard III's tyme.

Sir Thomas, baron of
Tweng of Kilton
Castle, dyed with-
out issue.

Lucie the eldest sister,
wife to sir Robert
Lumley.

Margaret the second
sister married to sir
Robert Hilton, knt.

Katheren the third sis-
ter married to sir Raph
Dawbeney, knight.

Sir Marmaduke Lum-
ley, knight.

Maude wife of sir John
Hotham.

Elizabeth wife of sir
Wm. Boutreaux, knt.

Raph Lumley of Kilton
Castle, baron in right
of his grand-mother,
after the death of
Thomas Tweng of
Kilton Castle.

Sir John Hotham.

Sir James Audeley, baron of Audeley and Heligh, in Staffordshire,
in king Richard II's tyme.

Sir Nicolas Audeley,
knt. baron of Awde-
ley and of Heligh,
dyed without issue.

Joane the eldest sister
married to sir Thomas
Tochett, knight.

Margaret the second
sister, wife of sir
Roger Hillarie.

The third sister mar-
ried to sir Fulk
Fitz-warren.

Sir John Tochett son and
heire.

Fulk Fitz-warren.

Sir John Tochett, baron of
Audeley and of Heleigh
in his grand-mother's
right.

Fulk Fitz-warryn.

Sir Almarick of St. Amand, knight, baron of Wedhay, in Berkshire,
in king Edward IVth's tyme.

Ida the eldest daughter married to sir
Thomas West, knight, in his wife's
right baron St. Amand of Widhay,
dyed without issue.

Elenor the younger daughter married
to sir Gerrard Braybrook, knight.

Gerrard Braybrook, esq.

Elizabeth the eldest daughter married
to Sir William Beauchamp, baron
of St. Amand and Wydhay in his
wife's right.

Mawde the second
daughter, wife
of John Babington.

Elinor the third
daughter.

**XXXIII. Description of the Carn Braich y Dinas, on
the Summit of Pen-maen-mawr, in Caernarvonshire.
By Governor Pownall.**

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Nov. 14, 1771.

IN addition to the account which Mr. Camden has given of Pen-maen-mawr, Dr. Gibson has inserted in his edition of the *Britannia*, the following particulars (a): "On the top of Pen-maen-mawr stands a lofty and impregnable hill; and here we find the ruinous walls of an exceeding strong fortification, encompassed with a treble wall; and within each wall the foundation of at least a hundred towers, all round, and of equal bigness, and about six yards diameter. It should seem, says the account, that there are lodgings within these walls for 20,000 men." Dr. Gibson says indeed, "He had taken no description of this himself; but gives the account as he receives it from a MS. written in king Charles the 1st's time, by sir John Wyn of Gwydir."

This account is copied into all the descriptions of Great Britain, and is going down to posterity under every form of authenticity.

PREVIOUS to a tour which I made into the West [b], I took a minute of this account; intending, as I passed through Caernar-

[a] P. 804, 805, 2d edit.

[b] In the year 1769.

von, to view this place. Accordingly, as I stopped to bait my horses at the little inn at the foot of Pen-maen-mawr, I took that opportunity of going to the top of the mountain, in search of this singular and curious fortress, as it is called and described. A guide was necessary to conduct me up the pathless mountain. The poor man who attends the carriages over the cliff-road served me in this capacity. The first part of our walk was through some cultured land, inclosed with stone-walls, at what one may call the foot of the mountain; but so steep was the way, that I, not in so good wind as my half-starved guide, was blown once or twice in this part of the ascent. After we had passed this, our passage became a mixture of walking and climbing, as some degree of practicability did here and there offer access amid the rocks and multitude of stones. After we had gotten to the height of the precipice, very properly called Pen-maen-mawr, or the Great Stone Head, or Head of the Great Rock, we found ourselves at this first stage, in a sort of valley, which appeared to be a wilderness of stones. We then ascended a second hill, and then, over a multitude of stones [c] like ruins, a third, at the summit of which the mountain comes, as it were, to a point. The drawing which I made, and of which an etching is here annexed [d], will give a better idea of it than words can; and I think I may venture to say, a pretty just idea of the *tout ensemble*.

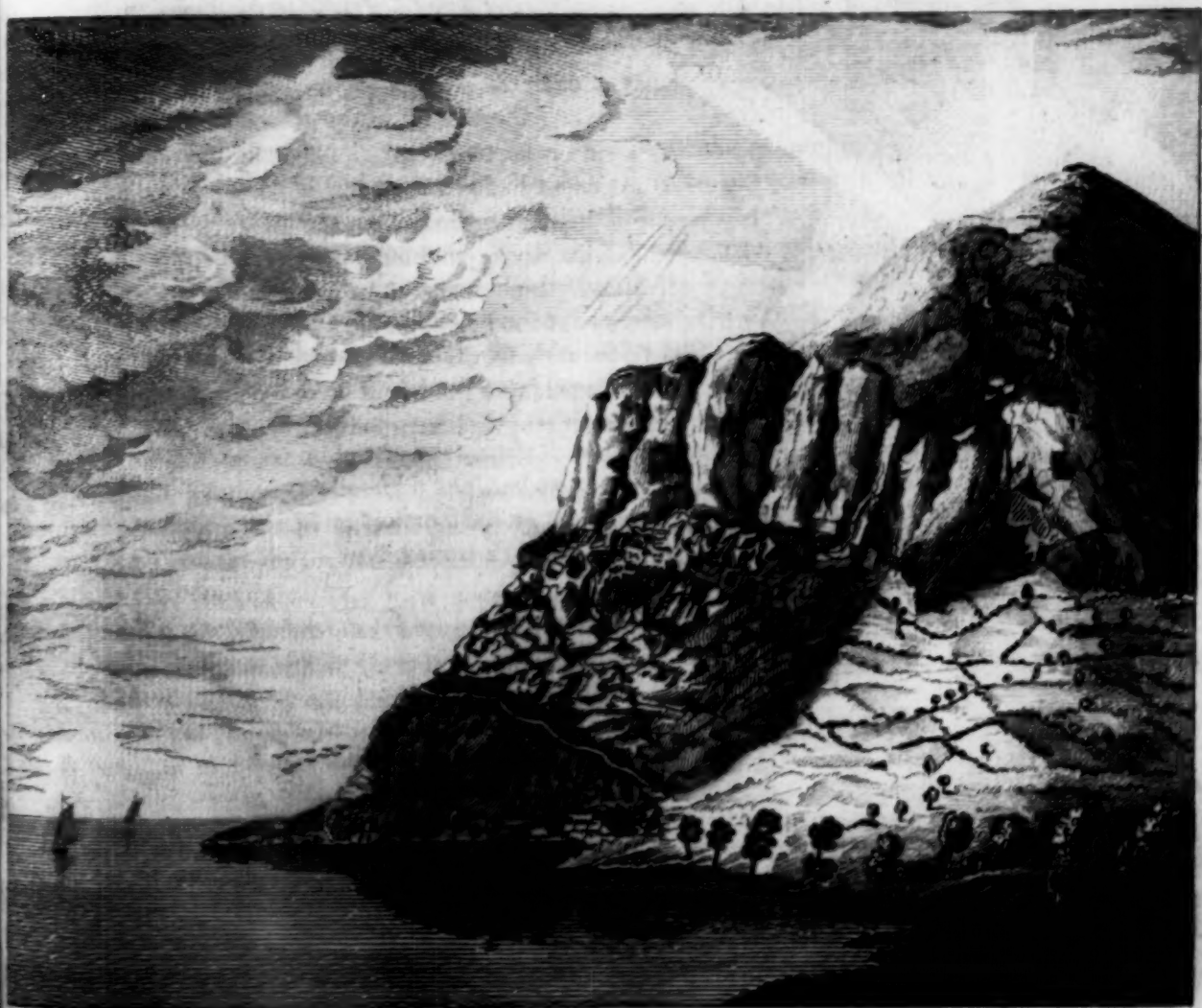
THE white line which winds along the cliff of the precipice, describes the parapet-wall built along that cliff, to give security to the road, which runs skirting over it, on a very narrow ledge cleared for the purpose. This pass would be really terrible, were there not this parapet; and even yet, to those whose imaginations can make frights to mock themselves, the amazing lofty abrupt precipice of rocks towering over head, with the fragments and

[c] Here I suppose the outer wall to be.

[d] Pl. XIV.

ruins

The Carn at the Summit of Braich y Dhinias.



Pen-maen-maur.

ruins that have for ages been falling down from it, and seem ready to roll over one, do present a scene of horror.

THE mountain on the top of Pen-maen-mawr is called *Bet-y-Dinas*, which may be translated the Hill of the City, or *Braich y Dinas*, the Arm of the City. The summit of the third mountain my old guide called *Pen-y-Dinas*, or Head of the City. On this summit is the curious place I sought to view. I paced its diameters as well as I could over the heaps of ruins. I examined the inclosing walls where they yet remain perfect. Those clouds, as they appear to be when one is at the bottom, almost constantly passing across these mountains, one finds, when one gets to the top, to be heavy, driving showers of rain. The first that passed while I was there, wetted me to the skin instantly; several others that followed kept me so. From the disagreeable circumstance of sitting thus in the wet, and drawing upon paper so wet that it would scarce bear the point of the pencil, I will not be positive to that precise accuracy of this part of the draught, which, in other cases, I can always vouch; but it will assist the description that I here give in words. To this purpose I have drawn it in a more perfect state than it really is in.

THE space inclosed is of an oval form, about 30 or 40 yards long, and not quite 20 wide. I speak this, guessing at the section from the manner in which I could pace it.

THE inclosure consists of two concentric walls, clearly to be marked and traced. There seemed to be the vestiges of a third wall, at the foot of this summit; but scarce to be discerned from the ruins that had fallen and borne it down. This I did not trace.

THE walls were 7 or 8 feet thick, and about 5 feet high. The distance from the innermost to the next is about 20 feet. The distance to the trace, where the ruins of the third may be supposed to be, may be twice as many yards. The walls are constructed with loose unhewn stones, piled without any

cement or mortar, like what the country people call a dry wall. The ruinous state in which they are, and the heaps of ruins with which they have loaded the ground where they have tumbled down, render it impossible to say what may have been in the environs of them; but I saw neither towers, nor ruins of towers, nor even vestiges of such ruins[*e*].

THE space inclosed contains a barrow of that kind which Dr. Stukeley calls a long barrow, and ascribes to the sepulture of an arch-druid. This structure is formed intirely of small loose stones, bears north and south, and almost fills the whole space of the interior inclosure. On the east side, in a line with the middle of the earthen wall, there is a clear perpetual spring rising from a well.

THIS inclosure was open at the north-point, as for the entrance. The way up to this entrance must have been by a winding course, along the west side of the mountain, from south to north, until it arrived at the extreme north summit, and it then turned to the south, so as to enter at this north entrance.

I DISCOVERED among the ruins on the western side of this mountain, near the outermost wall, a rock basin on the right hand of the path, as it approaches to the building. This seemed to be supplied with a constant living stream, which flowed over its edges. Its end only appeared, the rest was covered with the ruins which had tumbled over it; and the ruins lay in such broken masses about the place where it stood, that I could not get nearer than within 20 or 30 yards of it: so that I can speak only by guess either of its form or dimensions; yet as I took a view of it in two three different positions, I will endeavour to give an idea of it as it appeared to me.

[*e*] Since I wrote the above, both Mr. Banks and Mr. Pennant assure me, there are circular inclosures within the body or solid of this third wall, which are so far forth a great weakening to it, if it was ever meant for defence.

It has the form of a shallow, square trough, having its cavity about 6 inches (or it may be a foot) deep, and about 3 feet wide. It seems to have been split into the form under which it now lies; but to have received no further operation, nor to have been touched with any tool.

Thus far as to facts: I will next venture to give my opinion.

AND, first, as to what it is not. From the nature and extent of the ground inclosed; from the nature of the walls inclosing it; from what one sees actually existing within this inclosure; it is evident, beyond the possibility of doubt, that this never was intended for, or could be used as, a fortification, much less as a fortress. The inward inclosure contains a carn, as above described; and there is, in the space inclosed, but just room for this carn, with the wall on the side of it. In the space between the two innermost walls, there is not room for any lodgement. What kind of structures may have been between these two apparent walls and the supposed third wall, is not now easily to be discovered. The first stands on the pitch of the summit, and the latter at the foot of a steep, sloping descent. As the distance from the two interior concentral walls to this supposed one cannot be 40 yards, neither the nature of the scite nor the space is calculated for such habitations and lodgements as those who imagine this to have been a fortification must suppose; but, in the next place, if any habitations had been there erected, these walls could never have been either a cover or defence to them: add to this, that the walls themselves are not of the kind which could form a cover, and give at the same time the advantage of fighting from behind them. This place, therefore, never was a *fortified habitation* [/]. It appears to have been one of the druids consecrated *high places* of worship. These places were always inclosed and separated off from

[/] The walls are too thick, and the works too large, to have been erected by a few shepherd inhabitants, as some people imagine them to have been, intended as

from common use and profanation. The line of separation was either a simple ditch, like that at Stone-henge, or a ditch and mound of earth sloping inwards, like that at Abury, or a line of erect stones, forming a kind of wall like that at Carnbrè, in Cornwall, or a wall like that at this place. This line, in none of the above instances, was formed for defence; but merely to mark the bounds. As in the druid high-place at Carnbrè, one sees, within the sacred bounds [g], cars, cromlechs, and multitudes of *circular holy compartments*; so here I must suppose the hundreds of circular foundations spoken of were the remains of like holy consecrated recesses, dedicated to the service of religious ceremonies and worship. The situation of this holy temple *on the high place*, the nature of the inclosures, the interior and more sacred inclosures, the parts contained in them, the carn, the sacred well and basins, all mark it to be precisely one of these druid temples; and were I to name this mountain from what it has really been, instead of its being named from what ignorance has supposed it to be, I would, instead of *Bre-y-Dinas*, call it *Carn-Bre*, as the hill in Cornwall, having a similar temple, is called.

THE observations of the honourable Daines Barrington [b], of his brother the bishop of Landaff [c], of Mr. Holland of Conway, and of Mr. Banks, made on the spot, all confirm my opinion of what this place is not. As Mr. Pennant, who has gone twice over it, intends to

a strong hold to secure their cattle from the foraging parties of an enemy passing through the country: on the other hand, these works are not of such strength as to resist an attack, even in the rudest times of barbarity. However, nothing but an attention to some one of the great duties of society, could have induced so large a number of people, as must have been employed in getting together and piling up such a quantity of stones as are still remaining thus piled up. If the building produced is not sufficient for defence, Religion immediately recurs to the mind used to see the immense structures which she has reared in almost every part of the world. Mr. Banks.

[c] See Dr. Borlase's description and very elegant views of it.

[b] Vol. I. 291.

[c] Now (1786) bishop of Salisbury.

have

Have an actual survey made of it, as well as of some other places of a like nature, in these parts, the public may expect a more particular account than the above affords. I own, from the opinion which I have formed of these places, and from the experience which the public has had of this gentleman's knowledge and accuracy, I expect some more curious discoveries, as to the state and nature of these old patriarchal temples, than have ever yet been made. The absurd pre-judgements, that they were the remains of fortresses, have hitherto precluded any circumstantial examination of what they really are [4].

Extract of a letter to Governor Pownall.

SIR,

I have perused with pleasure your observations on *Pen-maen-mawr*; and have taken the liberty, according to your request, to rectify the spelling and translation of four words in your MS: viz.

Braich y Ddinas, spell, *Braich y Ddinas*, i. e. an arm of a city.

Gwydwr, i. e. *glafier*, read *Gwedir*, a bloody ground, or field of battle. As the etymologies of words in *this*, as well as in other languages, the Hebrew not excepted, are generally vague and uncertain, I think, little or no stress ought to be laid upon them, unless their use and application are well known.

Pen-maen-mawr, i. e. the top or summit of a very large stone; without the word *mawr*, *maen* without an epithet, signifies a large stone, therefore I have rendered it superlatively.

Brê y Ddinas read *Brê y Ddinas*, i. e. a city upon the hill.

Pen y Dinas, rather *Pen y Ddinas*, i. e. the entrance into the city.

N. B. Though *Pen* is the common Welsh word for a head, yet it has many other metaphorical significations: as, when applied to hills and mountains, it always signifies their summit.

[4] See p. 352.

It also signifies any high lands in general, as *Pen-lan*, *Pendryscol*, and *Pentywysog* when expressive of a prince or chieftain.

Bré, in my humble opinion, is only an abbreviation of *Bryn*, a hill. But at present *Bré* is no where used in Wales, except in proper names of places, as *Carnbrê* in Cornwall, *Penbrê* in Cardiganshire.

Though I have neither time nor inclination to offer you my thoughts at large upon your very ingenious observations upon *Pen-maen-mawr*; yet you will excuse me if I take the liberty to suggest a few things which occurred to me in reading your MS.

It does not appear to me, in the course of my little reading, that the ancient Druids ever worshiped in walled or covered temples, as you seem to infer, "from the nature of the walls inclosing it." Their places of worship were generally, if not always, in woods and groves, *surrounded only* with stones erected in a circular or an oval form, as Stonehenge, &c. with a *crom-lêch*, i. e. a *bowing stone* in the middle, before which the religious devotees bowed themselves, or worshiped.

You do allow, at least by implication, "from the fragments and ruins that have for ages been falling down from *Pen-maen-mawr*," that the extent and surface of the ground is greatly altered.

You admit also, that "the space inclosed is of an oval form, about 30 or 40 yards long, and not quite 15 wide." An area, I think, sufficient to receive a large body of men in case of a retreat, which was the general use of Welch fortresses, and seldom, if ever, intended for places of habitation.

Another circumstance which tends to prove this mountain to be a fortress, and not a place of religious resort, is "the distance from the innermost (wall) to the next is about 20 feet, and the distance where the ruins of the third may be supposed, may be twice as many yards." These several distances are, I apprehend, sufficient to contain many thousand

thousand men for the defence of the place, besides the consideration of the *strong natural situation of Pen-maen-mawr*.

The *thickness* of the concentral walls, which you say is seven or eight feet, is, in my real opinion, a strong argument, that these thick walls were never intended for a place of worship, but for a fortress. A thickness this, quite unnecessary in the walls of any temple antient or modern, and such as cannot be easily proved in any history.

Pen y Crûg, near Brecon, is of the same oval figure with this, but larger; and is allowed by all to be a British camp, "surrounded by three very deep and broad intrenchments, and appears to be one of the most and best preserved remains of that kind throughout the whole principality." See the letter of my learned and ingenious friend Mr. Strange in the *Archæologia*, vol. I. p. 297.

These circumstances I just mention, not with an intent so much to invalidate your arguments, as to induce you to reconsider your conclusions, and, whenever you go to Brecon, to examine with your critical and superior skill, the site, extent, figure, and other circumstances respecting this antient British muniment, in order to see how far *this* and Pen-maen-mawr correspond or differ. Upon the whole, if my conclusions are just, then the account given of *Pen-maen-mawr* in Gibson's Camden is still highly probable. Your indulgence to these hints thrown together in haste will greatly oblige,

S I R,

Cowley-street, Westminster,
9th March, 1772.

Your most obedient
and very humble Servant,
THO. JONES.

XXXIV. *A letter from Mr. Pegge to Dr. Percy, on the Minstrels among the ancient Saxons, occasioned by some Observations on the Subject, printed in the second Volume.*

Whittington, June, 1773.

Dear Sir,

I PERCEIVE, that in the second volume of the *Archaeologia* are printed my observations on your account of the minstrels among the Saxons, the Council not being aware that they had been replied to in the second edition of your essay. But candour and a love of truth oblige me to acknowledge, that you have removed my doubts in a very satisfactory manner, by that larger and more full discussion of the subject, which you have been pleased to give us in your last edition.

I sincerely wish you all imaginable success in your literary labours for the public service;

and am, Sir,

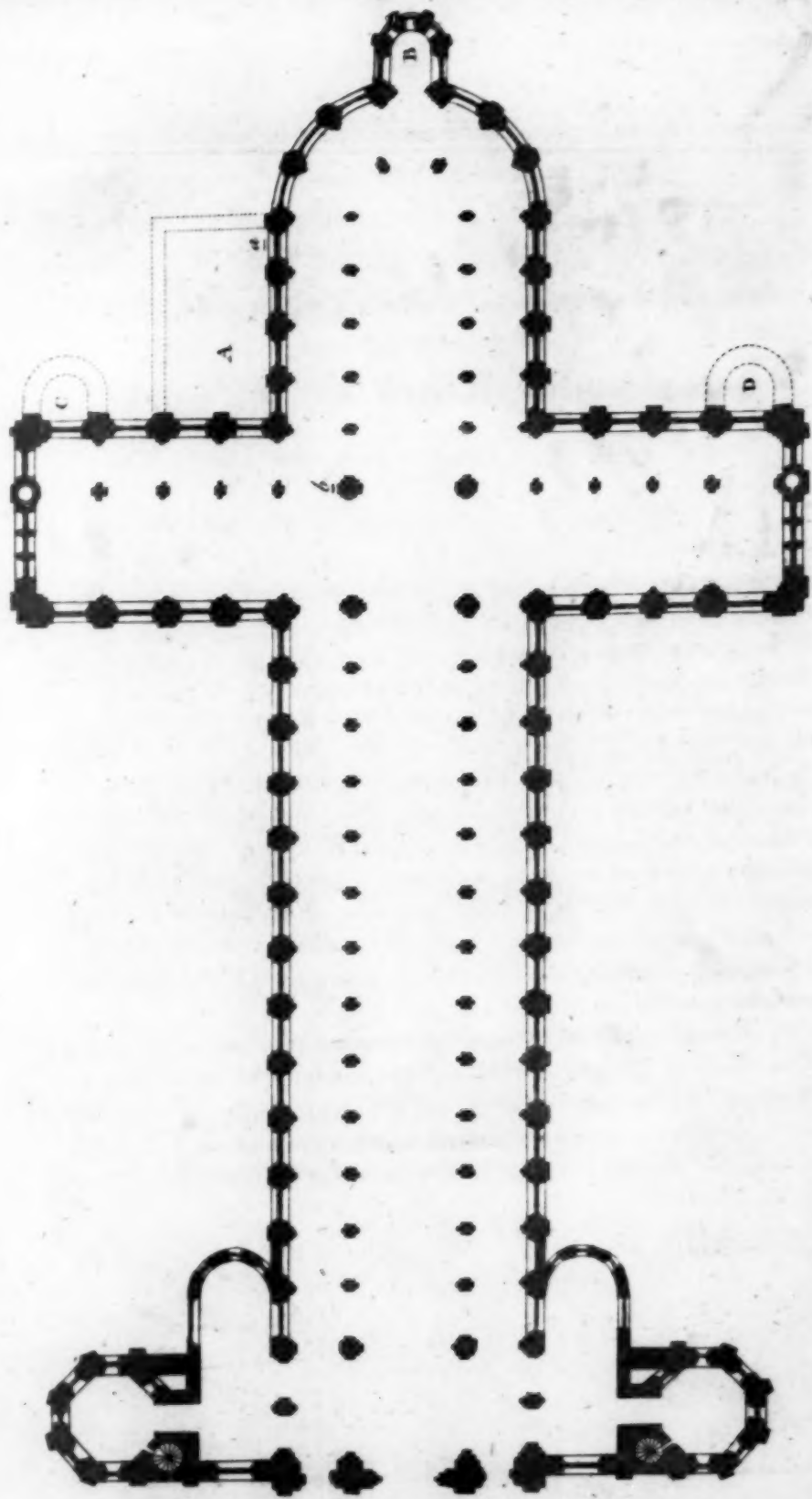
your truly affectionate,

and most obedient servant,

SAMUEL PEGGE.

XXXV. *Remarks*

A PLAN of the ABBEY of S^t EDMUND'S BURY, SUFFOLK: shewing the additions that ought to be made to S^r JAMES BURROUGH'S Plan. A. the great Chapel of the Virgin & Mary B. the little Chapel of the Virgin & Mary C. another small Chapel where the body of S^t Thomas & Beaufort Duke of Exeter was dug up. b. the place where it is now buried D another small Chapel discovered very lately.



XXXV. *Remarks on the Abbey Church of Bury St. Edmund's in Suffolk. By Edward King, Esquire; in a Letter to the Reverend Mr. Norris, Secretary.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, February 3, 1774.

John-street, Bedford-row, February 2, 1774.

SIR,

HAVING had an opportunity, the summer before last, of examining with accuracy the foundations of the Abbey Church at St. Edmund's Bury in Suffolk; and having found them to differ somewhat from the plan drawn by Mr. Essex for the late sir James Burroughs, and published at the end of Dr. Battely's *Antiquities of Bury*, though that plan is indeed in most respects exact, and very curious: I take the liberty to lay before the Society a drawing *, to shew the difference; and in order to render sir James Burroughs's plan the more compleat and useful. And I the rather venture to do this, because no subsequent account, that I know of, has as yet been given of these Ruins; and because the addition I have made does, moreover, render the plan perfectly consistent with the description given by *William of Worcester*, which otherwise cannot be understood; and serves to explain an apparent inconsistency in what he says, and to shew that his whole account is exact.

The words in the *Notulae* of William of Worcester, *De area & aedificiis St. Edmundi*, which appear inexplicable by sir James Burrough's plan, are contained in these two passages. First, he says, *Longitudo Chori à pede orientali Campanilis usque ad Capellam Beatae Mariae continet 70 gressus meos*. Whence it should seem,

* See Pl. XV.

that the chapel of the Virgin Mary was at the east end of the Choir, as it is indeed represented to be in Sir James's plan; but then, almost the very next words which he adds, are, *Longitudo Capellae Beatae Mariae ex parte boreali Chori ubi Thomas Beauford jacet sepultus, continet 40 gressus; Latitudo ejus continet 21 gressus.* And from hence it should rather seem, that the chapel of the Virgin Mary was on the *north* side of the choir, instead of being at the east end; and that it was also a very large one: whereas no such building appears in the before mentioned plan [a].

THIS apparent inconsistency, however, may easily be accounted for, and the whole difficulty does at once vanish, on a careful inspection of the foundations of the Ruins, which were laid quite open to the view the summer before last. For it is now most clearly seen, that there was indeed a large chapel on the *north* side of the choir, as well as another small one at the east end [b]; and therefore we may fairly conclude (though it is an extraordinary circumstance) that there were in this church *two* chapels dedicated to the Virgin Mary; *viz.* this large one, where

[a] Mr. Essex, on reading this paper, suggested, that the Lady chapel at Ely, built by Bp. Montacute in the reign of Edw. II. is likewise on the *north* side of the choir [1]. And he suspects that the chapel, which is called St. Mary Magdalen's, at Lincoln, and which is also on the *north* side of the choir, was in reality, in like manner, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, rather than to Mary Magdalen, as there is no chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary (the great object of worship in those days), at the east end of that cathedral; and as the original Lady Chapel first built there was only *in* one of the ailes of the choir. It is true, a church dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen occupied heretofore the site of the chapel now called after her name at Lincoln; but Mr. Essex suspects, for the above reasons, that this building which succeeded it was in reality dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and doubts whether its present appellation is not a *misnomer*, arising merely from the tradition concerning the old church.

[b] Not now to be traced.

[1] So was it at Glastonbury (Leland It. III. 86. and at Osney (Ib. II. 40.) at Christ Church, Oxford, now the Latin chapel (Willis, Cathed. IV. 409.) at Peterborough pulled down 1851 (Ib. II. 477.) at the Friary, Thetford (Blomefield I. 449.)

Thomas Beaufort was buried, and where (that which was, with good reason, supposed to be) his body was actually found; and another small one, behind the high altar, as represented in sir James Burroughs's plan. And this renders the whole account of William of Worcester clear and consistent. For the large chapel on the north side, which extends from the cross isle to the fourth pillar from the east end of the choir, is just about the length he describes: and from thence to the east end of the choir, where the small chapel is, makes up very nearly also the whole length which he assigns to the choir, *from the east end of the campanile, or tower, to a chapel of the Virgin Mary*. And in the great chapel has been found the body, which he says was interred there; of the curious preservation of which (it having the features of the face, and the muscles and tendons of the hands, still remaining undecayed), an account was given by Dr. Collignon, professor of anatomy at Cambridge, who also informs us, that the layers of cere-cloth, which covered the face, retained the exact impression of the eyes and nose*.

THE additions to the plan are marked with dotted lines; and the walls there represented, which were buried under ground in the time of sir James Burroughs, are now sufficiently exposed to view: and it even appears, that there was also another small chapel, terminated by a semi-circular bow, at the side of the great one as represented at (c).

I HAVE only to add, that (d) in the plan is the place where the body of Thomas Beaufort was dug up; and (e) is the spot where it is now buried, seven feet deep, at the foot of one of the great pillars, which still remains of a vast height, and may be considered as supplying the place of a monument till Mr. Symonds performs his promise of composing an epitaph, and thereby help to preserve a little longer some memorial of the interment of this great man,

* See the Philosophical Transactions, vol. LXII. art. 33.

who was uncle to king Henry Vth; commanded the rear-guard of the army at the famous battle of Agincourt in 1415; and afterwards defended Harfleur, and defeated the earl of Armignac in a pitched battle. He was created duke of Exeter in 1416, his title before having been only earl of Dorset. In 1422 he was appointed governor of Henry VIth's person; and, in 1426, he died at his manor of Greenwich, leaving behind him the character of a wise and faithful statesman; and was carried, with great pomp and ceremony, to be interred at St. Edmund's Bury. He is probably represented by the figure standing at the right-hand of the King, in a drawing engraved in the second volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 195, from a curious manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi College, at Cambridge: and I the rather think this to be the case (as Mr. Tyson, who describes that drawing, at first suspected); notwithstanding the figure is without the *insignia* of the Order of the Garter, because there is a very striking resemblance (at least as it appeared to me) between the mask of cere-cloth, which came off almost entire from the face of the corpse, and which I saw in Mr. Cullum's possession at Bury, and the features as represented in this drawing, they being in both remarkably large.

I HAVE sent with the plan two drawings*; the one of the Ruins of the west front of the abbey in their present state, having three houses built within the arches of the three great doors; and the other, of those Ruins, as they would appear without the additional buildings.

I am, Sir,

your most obedient humble servant.

EDWARD KING.

* See Pl. XVI.

P. S.

A View of the Ruins of the West Front of the Abbey Church at ST. EDMUND'S BURY in SUFFOLK as they now appear; with the three Houses built in the niches of the three great Doors, and other additional Buildings.

Fig. 2.

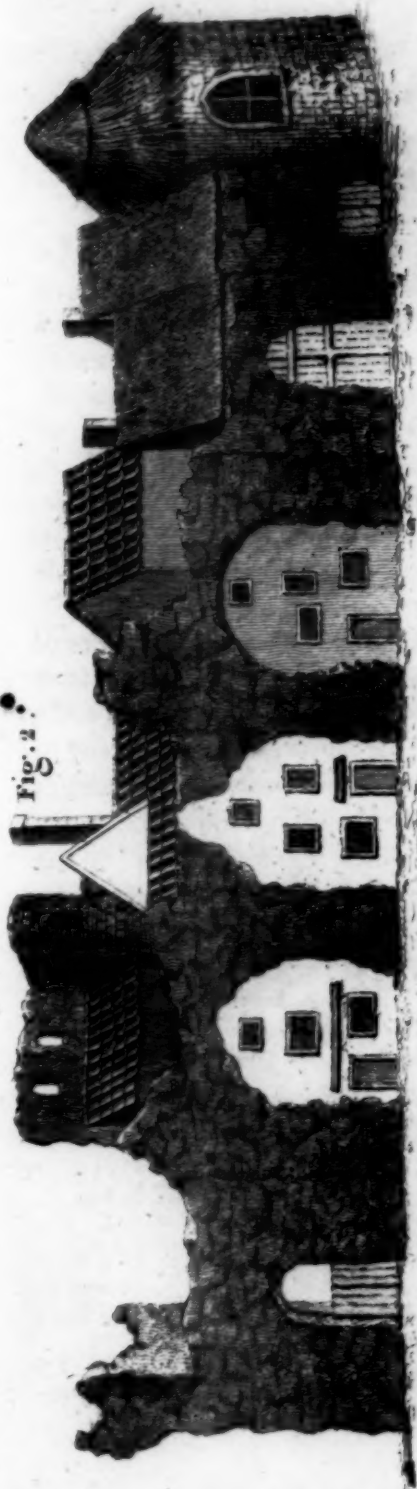
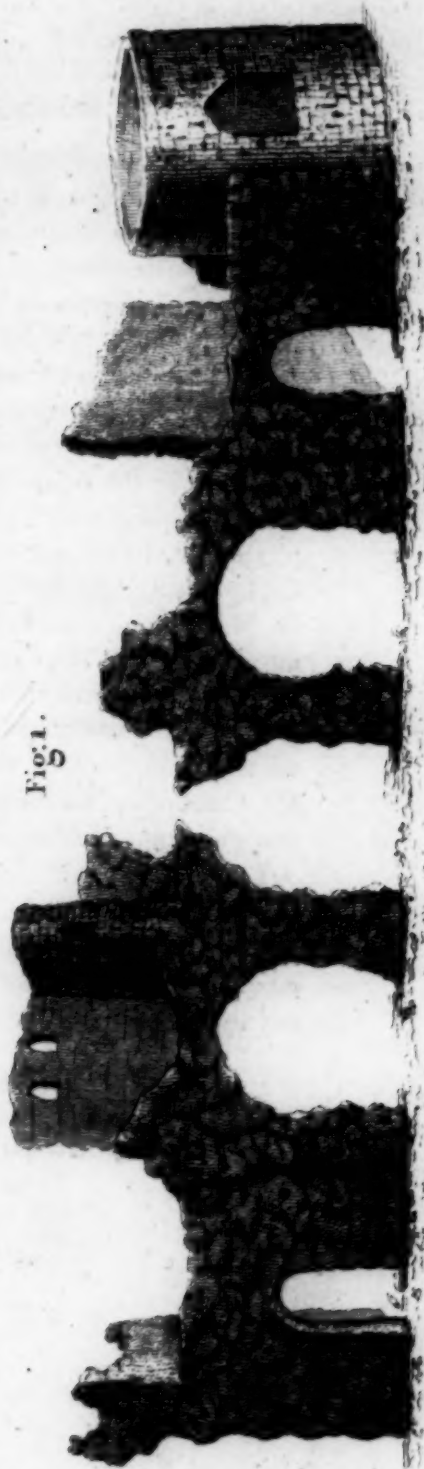


Fig. 1.



A View of the same Ruins, as they would now appear, without the additional Buildings.

P. S. SINCE this paper was printed, Mr. Godbolt, of Bury, a gentleman whose house is adjoining to a part of the Ruins, and who has taken great pains to trace out the foundations, and to ascertain the true situation of the different parts of the Building, has informed me, that they have very lately discovered the foundations of another semi-circular chapel [d], answering to [c] that which adjoins to the great chapel of the Virgin. And he has moreover made it plainly appear, that in the transepts, or cross isles, there were in reality four pillars; whereas in Sir James Burrough's plan there are only three marked. He shewed me their foundations, as well as those of the chapel; and I have therefore ventured to make this addition to the plan. I ought also to mention, that the passages down to the Crypts, on each side the Campanile, have lately been discovered; and that there has been dug out of the Crypts a very beautiful head of an image; and several little leaden crosses, rudely cut, with inscriptions still more rudely scratched upon them, as with a pin, which were placed on the breasts and shoulders of bodies that had been interred. It deserves to be mentioned also, that the body of Mary, sister to Henry VIII. and queen of France, who afterwards married Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk (having been removed from the Abbey, soon after the dissolution, into St. Mary's church adjoining, and carelessly interred there), has within a few years been very honourably deposited by the side of the altar, under a plain marble tomb, erected at the expence of a private gentleman. The body was found wrapped in lead fashioned to it, in the same manner as that of the duke of Exeter was; but it had moreover, on the breast, this inscription, *Mary Queen of France* [a].

[a] A lock of the hair given by the late rev. Sir J. Cullum to the duchess of Portland, was sold at the sale of her grace's curiosities, 1786, for £6. 6.. Another lock is lodged in the Museum of Mr. Green at Lichfield.

XXXVI. *Remarks on the first Noble, coined 18 Edward III, A. D. 1334; wherein a new and more rational Interpretation is given of the Legend on the Reverse. By the Rev. Mr. Pegge.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, 27 May, 1773.

KING Edward III. may properly be esteemed *the father of the gold specie of England*, notwithstanding some singular appearances which precede his time; since gold has in a manner continued to be minted without interruption ever since his reign.

IN the 18th year of this king's reign (27 January, 1344), florins of six shillings value were coined, with half-florins and quarter-florins. The first were impressed with two leopards; the second, with one; and the third, with an helmet, insigned or surmounted with a lion [a]. None of these pieces, however, except the quarter-florin, the property of the late Brian Fairfax, esq; [b], have ever been seen by our Antiquaries; but of this we have a type both in Mr. Folkes's [c] and Mr. Snelling's plates [d]; and a verbal description of it both by Mr. Snelling and Mr. Wife [e].

[a] Wife's Num. Bodl. Catal. p. 233.

[b] Snelling's View of the gold coin of England, p. 2.

[c] Pl. I. N^o 1.

[d] Pl. 1.

[e] Loc. cit.

JULY 11, the same year, an order was issued for coining nobles, or *denarii*; half-nobles, *oboli*, or maille nobles; and quarter-nobles or farthings of gold; whereof the *integer*, or whole piece, was to be current at six shillings and eight-pence; and the others in proportion. And as soon as the order was complied with, and the money coined, the former coinage was recalled, August 20; which probably is the reason that those pieces, the florins and half-florins above-mentioned, are not now to be found. Even this Noble, and its parts, are so extremely scarce, that there is only one specimen extant which is of the entire Noble [f]. This is engraved by Mr. Folkes [g]; and we have a large and accurate description of it by Mr. Snelling, who had seen and handled it often in the possession of Mr. Hodgk. For it must be observed, that the noble described by Mr. Evelyn [h], Stephen Martin-Leake, esq; [i], and Mr. Wise [k], is a different piece from this of the 18th year of King Edward. Mr. Snelling's description runs thus:

‘ This coin exhibits the king standing upright in the middle
 ‘ of a ship, in armour, with his sword erect in his right-hand,
 ‘ and his shield in his left, on which appear the quartered arms
 ‘ of France and England; those of France being semé of
 ‘ fleurs-de-lis; the legend, EDWAR. D. GRA. REX ANGL.
 ‘ Z. FRANC. DNS. HYB. The reverse has a cross formed
 ‘ of three lines, two of which are dotted, and terminated
 ‘ with a sort of flourished ornament and a fleur-de-lis, having
 ‘ on its centre a small rose, or compartment, of four leaves or
 ‘ arches, and four angles, whose points terminate in three

[f] Snelling, p. 3.

[g] Pl. II. N° 1.

[h] Numismata, p. 86.

[i] Historical Account of English Money, p. 110. *et seq.* adduced below.

[k] P. 233.

‘ pellets

‘ pellets in the void spaces made by the cross; which have also,
 ‘ in each of those spaces, a lion with a crown over it, all con-
 ‘ tained within a compartment of eight arches dotted like the
 ‘ cross. In the centre is an L, very probably for *London*, the
 ‘ place of its mintage, Inscription, IHC TRANSIENS PER
 ‘ MEDIUM ILLORUM IBAT [1].”

THIS Noble, imitated, with proper variations, by many of
 our kings, has been by some esteemed a medal [m]; but it has
 no more of the medal than the common Roman coins, and
 was intended to be the current money of the kingdom. Our
 medallie series does not properly begin till the reign of king
 Henry VIII.

BUT here, as Mr. Leake, in his Account of English Money,
 has brought together sundry particulars relative to this piece, it
 may be worth while to transcribe the passage, and to subjoin
 some remarks upon it.

‘ As these nobles bear the arms of France, they have the title
 ‘ of France, *Edward. Dei Gra. Rex Angl. Z Franc. Dns. Hyb.*
 ‘ but upon his great seal the title of France is placed first,
 ‘ agreeable to the bearing of the arms; whereas, before, his
 ‘ titles were *Rex Angl. Dns. Hyb. et Aquit.* the title of Aquit-
 ‘ taine being now immersed in that of France. Upon the sides
 ‘ of the ship, towards the bottom, are two spikes standing out,
 ‘ and above them in a row three lions of England, and four
 ‘ fleurs-de-lis, viz. a fleur-de-lis, and a lion, alternately. Re-
 ‘ verse, a cross-flory, with a fleur de lis at the points, a lion of
 ‘ England under a crown in each quarter, and the letter E
 ‘ within a small rose in the centre; all within a compartment,
 ‘ called a rose of eight parts, or leaves, or, as Mr. Evelyn calls
 ‘ them, eight goderons; circumscribed with this legend in Old
 ‘ English characters, IHC. AVTEM. TRANSIENS. PER.
 ‘ MEDIVM. ILLORVM. IBAT, which our Alchymists pro-

[1] P. 3. [m] Mr. Evelyn, p. 85. Mr. Leake, below. Mr. Snelling, p. 3.

‘ foundly

“foundly expound, that as Jesus passed invisible, in most secret manner, by the midst of the Pharisees (John viii. 59.); so that gold was made by invisible and secret art alchymical of Raymund Lully in the Tower. But others say, that the text was only an amulet, used in that credulous age to escape dangers, superstitiously applying the words of the Gospel, to make the wearers invulnerable. This last conjecture seems most probable; and the occasion of it, no doubt, first sprung from the wonderful preservation of the king, who, by the invisible hand of Providence, past unhurt through the midst of his enemies, in that extraordinary sea-fight which this noble coin was intended to commemorate [n].”

MR. SNELLING, in his description, takes no notice of the *spikes* mentioned by Mr. Leake; neither do they appear to be spikes in Mr. Folkes's plates, but rather an ornament of some kind.

THESE gentlemen are greatly mistaken who bring in Raymund Lully and his art alchymical on the occasion [o]. It is doubted whether Raymund was ever in England [p]; and it is certain, that he died *anno* 1315 [q], long before the Noble was ever thought of. Edward's florins, again, had been coined before these Nobles; and in all probability the text of scripture was not used upon them, for they bore, the whole florin two leopards, and the half-florin one; so that there was no proper object, no ship moving upon the waves, for the text to allude to. Mr. Wise, indeed, seems to think there was the same epigraph on the florin [r]; but that does not appear at all probable to me.

[n] P. 111. Sir Hans Sloane told the rev. Thomas Bradbury that the legend was derived from a remarkable action of the king, who, in a small skiff, sailed round the French fleet, and having thoroughly reconnoitered it, returned to his own unseen and unhurt.

A large quantity of these coins were dug up in a field in Rothwell, in Northamptonshire, about fifteen years ago.

[o] Camden, Remains, p. 187.

[p] Cave, Hist. Lit. Appendix, p. 4.

[q] Ibid.

[r] P. 233.

on:

on account of the absence of the king and the ship, the only ground for the application of the text. Besides, this gold with its alloy was no invention of Raymond's; for the Florentines of Italy, whom the king particularly followed in striking his gold coins, some of whom also are supposed to have assisted him in his mint, and from whom the pieces first took the name of Florins [1], had devised the standard before, viz. anno 1252 [2], when Raymond was but a wild and giddy youth of sixteen: I think it cannot be doubted but the Italian pieces and ours were much of the same alloy. The text, by the way, is not taken from John viii. 59, where the words are, *Iesus autem abscondit se, & exiit de templo*, but from Luke iv. 30, where we have it in the Vulgate, *Ipsa autem transiens per medium illorum ibat*.

In regard to the next, and the more approved, conjecture; it is suggested, that this text of scripture was, at that time, commonly used as an amulet; and it might be so for any thing I know to the contrary [u]: but surely it is most ridiculous to suppose an amulet, or charm, should be placed, as such, upon the public money of a great kingdom. Whatever superstition of the kind might then prevail amongst the vulgar, such weakness cannot be expected to proceed from the king's ministers, or the officers of his mints. I regard it therefore as an idle fancy, or imagination, unsupported by experience. For though we have the *band of Providence with Alpha and Omega* [x], the cross, and the like emblems of religion, on the Byzantine coins of the lower empire, and even upon our own; yet there is no instance of such vulgar superstition as this upon the national coins of this kingdom. We also find the words of Holy Scripture sometimes placed upon reverses; but always in a religious,

[1] Camden and Wile, II. cc.

[u] Camden, Remains, p. 187.

[1] Snelling, p. 1.

[w] See the coins of Ethelred II.

and never in a superstitious or fantastical way, as this is supposed to be.

THE question then arises, in what respect the mint-master, supposing it to be his doing, has accommodated the words of St. Luke to king Edward and his coin; or, in other words, what object is to be understood by *illorum* in this case? I answer, the two kingdoms, England and France, mentioned in the king's style, as is plain if you connect the epigraphs on the obverse and reverse together, thus, '*Edwardus Dei gratia rex Angliae & Franciae. Iesus transiens per medium illorum ibat,*' meaning, by an application of the words of the Gospel, *the king in his ship*, and, by *illorum*, the two kingdoms.

I CONCEIVE then, that, as the two kingdoms of England and France are expressed in the king's style on the obverse, and in nature are only parted by a narrow strait or channel, the king in his ship is here supposed to be passing that strait, and consequently not only to assert his dominion over the sea, but over the two kingdoms also; in which case *regnum* will be the substantive understood to *illorum*. Edward's claiming the kingdom of France is the most striking transaction of his reign; and at this very time, *anno* 1344, the claim was subsisting in its full vigour. The truce was just now broken between Edward and Philip; and the former was entering upon a war, for the purpose of asserting his right to the crown of France, at the very instant, 11 July, that the precept for striking our Noble was issued. He had sent the earl of Northampton to defy Philip, and to declare war against him by sea and land. He exhorted the French, on the occasion, to own him for sovereign; promising to exempt them from taxes, and to govern them according to the laws and customs observed in France under St.

Lewis [x]. How natural therefore was it for him to exhibit his claim on his coins! and does it not appear strongly on the piece in question? He calls himself *king of France* amongst his titles, and quarters the French arms, giving them the first place, on the obverse; and, on the reverse, are depicted as many fleurs-de-lis as lions, to take no notice of those put alternately with the lions on the side of the ship on the obverse; all shewing, that Edward would be thought as much *king of France* as king of England. The motto on the quarter-noble, or farthing of gold, *exaltabitur in gloria*, appears plainly to look the same way, and to import an accession of honour and glory to accrue to this illustrious prince from an union of the two kingdoms. This, I acknowledge, was the legend on the quarter-florin above-mentioned, coined in consequence of the precept of 27 January [y]; but it should be considered, that Edward was even then preparing for a war, and in July following had abundant reason for continuing the same legend.

HENCE then it should seem, that the legend on this Noble neither means to intimate, that the coin was made by art alchymical, nor was of the nature of a common amulet, nor, lastly, alluded to any particular victory obtained by the king over his enemies at sea, as Mr. Leake and Mr. Snelling [z] suggest; for the great victory, which these gentlemen mean, happened four or five years before, 1340, much too early in point of time. And as for the victory gained over the Corsairs, 1349, to which Mons. Rapin refers the original of this coin [a], this was as much too late. I am therefore of opinion, that the device and legend of the reverse point generally to Edward's two

[x] Rapin, p. 423.

[z] P. 3.

[y] Snelling, p. 1.

[a] P. 428.

kingdoms, and by consequence imply the sovereignty of the sea between them, as the old poet understood it,

• For foure things our NOBLE sheweth unto me,

• King, ship, and sword, and *power of the sea* [b];

and as it has been explained by many later authors.

BUT you have seen, it may be objected, some nobles, in which France is omitted in the king's style, though the same legend appears on the reverse; and what is to be said to that? I answer, those pieces are indeed very common, and are supposed to be coined after the year 1360, when the treaty of Bretigny took place [c], in consequence of which Edward relinquished his title to the crown of France [d]; and before 1369, when Charles V. broke the treaty, and declared war against Edward [e]; and Edward thereupon resumed the title of king of France [f]; but, by a strange inconstancy, the arms of France still continued to be quartered [g], and the fleurs-de-lis, with the legend, still appeared on the reverse. The legend, with equal absurdity, was retained on the Nobles of Richard II. and Henry IV. [h], when the claim lay dormant, and the legend in a manner lost its meaning, so that nothing can be inferred from the continuance of the legend after 1360, to invalidate our conjecture concerning it, as offered above. It was absurd, I grant, that the arms should still be quartered, and the fleurs-de-lis still used; but so it was; and after that, it is no wonder the legend should be retained along with them, though there was such a glaring impropriety in it.

[b] Snelling, p. 3. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, IV. p. 310.

[c] Rapin, p. 441.

[d] Rapin, p. 440, 441. Leake, p. 98. 114.

[e] Snelling, p. 4.

[f] Rapin, 441.

[g] It is said, in the notes on Rapin, p. 440. that Edward ceased to quarter the arms of France with those of England. But, as the nobles coined after 1360 exhibit the arms, the assertion is not true in respect of the coin.

[h] Folke, Plate I.

XXXVII. *Observations on the Corbridge Altars. By the Hon. Daines Barrington. In a Letter to the President.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Jan. 27, 1774.

Dear Sir,

I SHEWED you, some time since, Mr. Tyrwhitt's very ingenious reading of the inscription on the Corbridge altar, engraved in the second volume of the *Archaeologia*; which turns out to be the following regular hexameter.

ACTAPTHC BΛMON M'ECOPAC, ΠΟΥΛΗΡ Μ'ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ.

THIS happy conjecture hath also been confirmed by the answer you received from the Rev. Mr. Graham, of Netherby, in Cumberland, in whose possession the altar is at present, and who hath informed you, that there are still traces of the cross stroke forming the top of the Π, which is the first letter in the name of the person who consecrates the altar [a].

As it seemed to me very singular, that an altar with a Greek inscription, dedicating it to a Syrian deity, should be found at Corbridge in Northumberland, I desired the Rev. Dr. Percy, who spent part of the last summer in that county, to make inquiry with regard not only to this altar, but another which was found in the church-yard of the same place, and is mentioned in the *Philosophical Transactions*, N° 278. and by Mr. Horsley, *Northumb. cvi. p. 246.* the inscription on which was then as follows,

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ
ΤΥΡΙΩ
ΔΙΟΔΩΡΑ
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΑ.

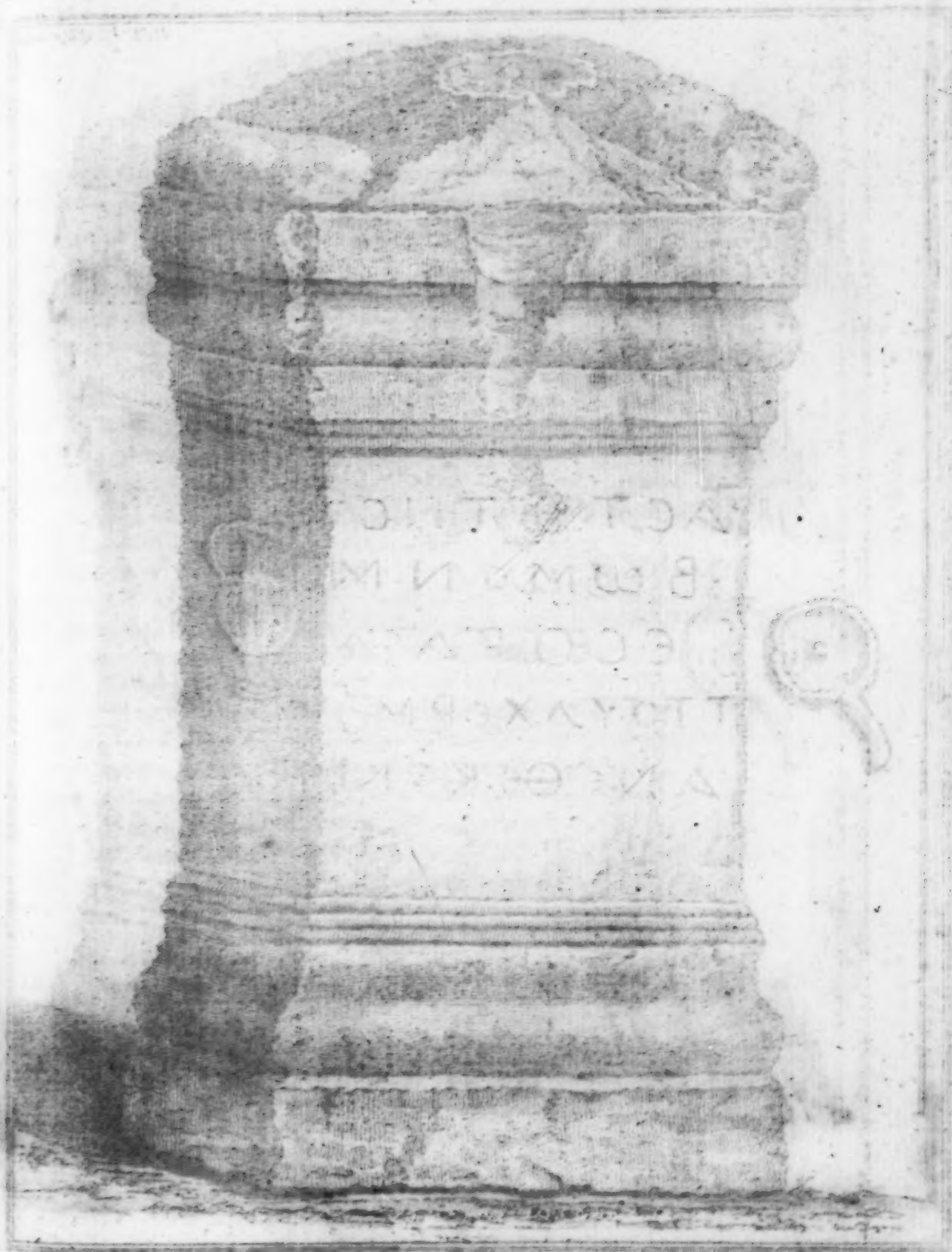
[a] Viz. PULCHER. Dr. Stukeley seems never to have been more unhappy in his conjectures than when he interprets these words in the following manner:

"Marcus Eforast, the son of Acherm, dedicates this altar of Asarte." *Medallic History of Carausius*, p. 160.

DR.

[Faint, illegible handwritten text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]







DR. PERCY has since informed me, that he cannot pick up any further account with regard to the Netherby altar [d]; but that, as for that above-mentioned, it is now in the garden of Northumberland-house [c].

I HAVE therefore, by permission of his grace the duke of Northumberland, in concert with Mr. Butler, F. A. S. copied the inscription as it remains at present, which is as follows:

H | KΛ I
T T P I Ω [d]
Δ Δ Ω P A
A P X I E P E, A.

which words, if read at length, make an hexameter [e], as well as those on the Netherby altar [f].

HPAKAEI T T P I Ω Δ I O Δ Ω P A A P X I E P E, A [g].

THERE

[d] It was formerly in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Walton, vicar of Corbridge, whose collection of antiquities, after his death, was purchased by the Rev. Mr. Graham, of Netherby. Wallis's Antiquities of Northumberland, p. 127. This altar was claimed by one of the late dukes of Somerset, as being found in his manor of Corbridge: but Mr. Walton would not permit it to be removed, as it was discovered on his glebe. The chapter of Durham could not get it for their library.

[e] It was removed from Corbridge to Northumberland-house in 1749, having been claimed by the late duke, as being found within his manor of Corbridge. By his liberality this valuable piece of antiquity is since this was written lodged in the British Museum.

[f] Mr. Horsley (MS. letter to Roger Gale, esq. 1729) says positively that there is a flaw at the head of the P, so that he thinks it may have been double φ, but that there is no T, and it might be T φ P ω, T φ ω or T φ ω.

[g] Greek inscriptions on altars and sacred things were generally in verse. See the Wilton altar, vol. I. p. 155, the base at Delos, one brought from Sparta by Fourmont,

Τάλας ἀνθραξ ἀπρονόητος,

Gebelin, Orig. des lang. & de l'écriture, p. 457.

[h] The Society having since obtained his grace's permission for Mr. Basire to make an exact copy of the altar, it is here exhibited in two views in the annexed plate; the prickled lines shew those parts of the characters which are very imperfect.

[i] This inscription is most improperly rendered, by Dr. Todd, in the Philosophical Transactions, N° 330, *Herculi Tyrio divina dona archi-sacerdotalia, or per summum sacerdotem*

THERE are, however, some singular circumstances attending these altars, which may be perhaps deemed companions.

THEY furnish the only Greek inscriptions which were ever found in Great Britain [b]; they both consist of a single hexameter; they are inscribed to Syrian deities; and they are discovered in the same parish of Corbridge.

IT is not extraordinary, that Greek inscriptions should be scarce in England: it is rather necessary to account, why any such should have been discovered.

THOUGH the Romans most commonly used their own language and characters; yet some of them must have been born under circumstances which made the Greek tongue more familiar to them.

WE need therefore only suppose that Pulcher and Diodora (who dedicate these two altars) were the son and daughter of a Roman officer, quartered in Greece, or some neighbouring province, and who died soon after he had children by a Grecian wife.

THE Greek language would certainly be more familiar than the Latin to a Roman with such an education.

THE two inscriptions, consisting each of a single hexameter, seem to prove, that the altars were dedicated about the same time, and that they were intended to be companions, especially as their outward form is very similar, as well as the characters made use of.

THE greater difficulty seems to be, why both altars should be inscribed to the Syrian deities, Astarte and Tyrian Hercules.

THIS, however, it should seem, may be accounted for in two manners.

sacerdotem offerenda; as it clearly imports no more, than that the archpriestess Diodora dedicates the altar to Tyrian Hercules.—Mr. Wallis (if it be not an error of his printer) seems to be still more mistaken in supposing it to be an altar “in honour of Tyrian Hercules, dedicated to Diodora the priestess.” *Antiquities of Northumberland*, vol. II. p. 127.

[b] There is a third in Horsley. Durham XXV.

PULCHER,

PULCHER and Diodora might possibly have either resided, or been born, in Syria, and had perhaps received some good fortune, which they might ascribe at least to these deities.

It is conceived, that, wherever a Roman continued for any time, he probably worshiped the local deities, when there were not temples at hand which were erected to the gods adored at Rome. Such Romans therefore might continue their veneration for Astarte and Tyrian Hercules, when removed from Syria to Britain [i].

BUT, possibly, it is not necessary that Pulcher and Diodora should have been at all in that province.

IN the early ages of Rome, their idolatry was confined to a certain number of deities, the catalogue of which does not appear to have been increased till their very extensive conquests.

WHEN they became, however, masters of the world, it seems to have been the fashion to despise the ancient objects of their adoration, whilst they substituted new ones from Egypt and Syria.

THIS disregard of their ancient mythology, in the time of Juvenal, appears by the following lines in his second satire :

*Esse aliquos manes & subterranea regna,
Et contum, & Stygio nigras in gurgite ranas,
Atque unâ transire vadum tot millia cymbæ,
Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum aere levantur*

[i] Dr. Todd, indeed, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, accounts for the altar being dedicated to Tyrian Hercules in a more satisfactory manner, if he referred to any authority in support of his conjecture: "The altar seems to have been erected "by some of the *Asiatic Phœnician auxiliaries*, who might be in garrison [at Cor- "bridge] near the frontier, under Urbicus Lollius, about *A. D. 140.*" *Phil. Transact.* N° 330, p. 291. I must own, that I never read of the Romans sending Phœnician auxiliaries to any of their colonies, much less to the Northern parts of England.

*Sed tu vera puta Curius quid sentit, & ambo
Scipiadae, quid Fabricius, manesque Camilli,
Quid Cremerae legio, & Cannis consumpta juventus.*

THAT the Romans transferred their idolatry at the same time to other deities, particularly those of Egypt and the adjacent provinces, may be proved from other passages in the same poet.

IN his sixth satire, Juvenal thus speaks of the superstition of many of the Roman ladies :

————— *Si candida jufferit Io,
Ibit ad Aegypti finem, calidâque petitas
A Mercè portabit aquas, ut spargat in aede
Isidis, antiquo quae proxima surgit ovili,*

By some lines which follow, the same women are supposed to apply to Jewish, Armenian, and Comagenian soothsayers. The last satire also of this poet is chiefly levelled at the Egyptian idolatry ; which would not have been necessary, had it not prevailed at Rome.

PULCHER and Diodora, therefore, might have had a particular veneration for these Phoenician deities, either by having resided perhaps in that country, or possibly contracted the superstition at Rome before they went to Britain.

ON either supposition, Astarte and Tyrian Hercules were the first deities who would claim their veneration, as appears by the following passage from Lucian [k] :

[k] Το γὰρ τὸ Ἡρακλῆος (sc. ἱερὸν) ὃ τὰς τὸ Ἡρακλῆος τοῦ Ἑλλήνος αἰδεῖται, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ἰσχυ-ο πολλὸν ἀρχαιοτέρου, καὶ Τυρίου πρὸς εἶναι. De Dea Syria, in princ.

Then follows εἰν δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἱερὸν ἐν Φοινικῇ μέγα, τὸ ἐν Σιδωνίᾳ ἔχοντι, ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Ἀφάρτης εἶναι.

Hiram, king of Tyre, and cotemporary with Solomon, but also two temples, which he dedicated to Astarte and Tyrian Hercules. See Josephus, l. ii. c. 1.

THESE

THERE is one difficulty, however, still remaining, with regard to the altar dedicated to Tyrian Hercules, which is, that it is inscribed by a woman and archpriestess.

AT first, it struck me that she must therefore have necessarily been archpriestess to such a god; and I believe there are few instances of women having this dignity in the temples of male deities, at the same time that there would be a particular inde-licacy if they devoted themselves to Hercules.

PAUSANIAS, indeed, in his account of Greece, mentions a temple of Neptune, at which a virgin presided [6]; but he seems to state this circumstance as being singular; and there-fore it cannot be inferred to have been a common practice [7].

AS for Pythia, she seems to have had no other function, as priestess to Apollo, but delivering oracles; nor had that deity a priestess at any other temple.

URON consulting, however, the *Marmora Oxoniensia*, I find a sepulchral inscription to ΑΤΡ. ΦΑΥΕΤΑ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΑ [8], without stating of what deity, any more than in the instance of Diodora; and Prideaux, in his Comment, conjectures, that she might be archpriestess to Diana. Nor does he suppose that she had the highest dignity of this sort, but only that she was of the first class, or order, as, in Matthew ii. 4. the *αρχιερεως* are mentioned, who therefore must have been numerous [9].

[6] Εἰς τὸ Νηπτικόν, ἡ δὲ ἱερὰ ἀνὴρ, ἡ δὲ ἡγήτορος. Corinthiac.

[7] It is well known, that mention of temples occurs almost in every period of Pausanias; and it is believed there is no other instance of a priestess to a male deity throughout his whole description of Greece.

[8] N° IV. See also Montfaucon's *Pal. Græca*, p. 246. ΚΑΡΑΚΥΑΙΑΝ ΑΡ-ΧΙΕΡΕΙΑΝ, ΑΠΟΓΟΝΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ; and Δαμωίαν Δαμωίαν, ἡγήτορος. Nou-veau Traité de Diplomatique, t. I. p. 627. and Horsley ubi sup.

[9] See *Marmora Oxoniensia*, p. 457.

As for these altars being found at Corbridge, it is easily accounted for, if my conjectures are allowed in other respects; because it is known to have been a considerable station, and near to the Roman wall.

The inscription on the altar to Tyrian Hercules hath already been four times engraved [m]; and it may be perhaps matter of curiosity to compare the different copies; as the stone is soft, and seems to have suffered within these seventy years, some of the characters being quite effaced.

That the inscription is not more ancient than the time I ascribe it, may be proved, if it was necessary, by the *verse* subscribed in the last word, ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΑ.

Though I have no less authority, however, than that of Montfaucon for this remark [n]; yet it may be not improper to observe, that Scipio Maffei denied that any arguments, drawn merely from the form of characters, can be at all conclusive [o].

I am, dear sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

[m] In Phil. Transact. for March and April 1702, N^o 278.—*Ibid.* N^o 330. In Phil. Transact. abridged, Vol. V. Part II. p. 46.;—and, lastly, in Horsley, Northumb. cvi. p. 246. It has also been printed in Stukeley's Caraculian, II. 161. and Wallis's Antiquities of Northumberland. II. 127.

[n] In his *Palaeographa Graeca*.

[o] See the *Ars Critica Lapidaria*, L. III. c. 1. can. II.

P.S. SINCE my letter on the Corbridge Altar, I have happened to meet with a passage in Tully's Oration for Cornelius Balbus, which makes it possible, that Diodora was not only an archpriestess of Astarte, but actually born in Syria. Cicero observes, that the sacrifices to Ceres were always performed by Grecian women: *Sacra Cereris, iudices, summi majores nostri religione confici, ceremonisque valuerunt; quae cum essent assumpta de Graecis, & per Graecas semper curata sunt sacerdotes, & Graeca omnia denominata.*

IF Astarte therefore was established as a goddess to be worshiped at Rome, Syrian priestesses would, for the same reason, be employed to perform the rites, and Diodora might afterwards marry a Roman officer who was sent to Britain.

XXXVIII. *Observations on the Corbridge Altar, described in the second Volume of Archeologia, p. 92.. In a Letter to the Hon. Daines Barrington, Vice-Pref. from Thomas Morell, D. D. Sec.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, May 19, 1774.

Honoratissimo Eruditissimoque Viro DAINES BARRINGTON.

HABEO sanè unde Societati Antiquariorum, et tibi, vir doctissime, gratuler; quod inscriptionis Corbrigiensis satis vexatae lectionem, Cl. Thomas Tyrwhitt extra omnem dubitationis aleam posuit; et proinde Tu eam magnâ exornasti eruditione. Mihi quidem, fateor, ut et aliis, fidem τῆ exscripto adhibentibus, illud T geminatum, fucum fecit: his verò jam in II redactis, nihil potest esse planius, nihil certius; quippe, et constructio, et hexameter, jam tandem rectè se habent..

Ἀστάρης ὡμον μ' ἱσορῶς Πυλχρ μὲ ἀνέθηκεν.

Astartae hanc posuit Pulcher, quam hic aspicias, aram, vel, Aspicias, Astartae quam Pulcher dedicat, aram.

Non aegrè seres, mi amice, ut opinor, si et ego quaedam super hac inscriptione mihi sumam compilare, non ut aliquid ad tuas observationes adjiciam, quid enim adjici potest? sed ut eas potius quodammodo confirmem.

I. NOTUM est omnibus mediocriter eruditis, multo magis tibi, vir eruditissime, (mihi igitur haec tibi referenti ignoscas,) prudentiores etiam apud veteres in rebus naturalibus et corporeis, praesertim in astris, Deos quacsivisse, ac honore divino syderum principes,

Solem

Solem et Lunam, prosecutos fuisse.—Ipse Jobus hoc sibi evenisse fatetur, xxxi. 6. Lucilius apud Ciceronem, eum non indoctis solum, sed etiam impiis facere ait, qui astra Deos esse neget; Solem sc. et Lunam, quorum alterum Apollinem Graeci, alteram Dianam nuncupant: Immo omnes, quotquot fuere gentes, in hos lucis et tenebrarum Dominos religionis suae studia videntur collocasse: Aegyptii praefertim, qui Solem et Lunam sub Osiridis et Isis nomine venerabantur. Atque ut taurus, et bubulum caput apud illos Solis symbolum erat; sic apud Syros et Phoenices Dea Astarte sub eadem bubuli capitis specie colebatur; ut Eusebius ostendit ex Sanchoniathone, scriptore antiquissimo, Ἡ δὲ Ἀστάρη ἐπαθῆκε τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ βασιλικοῦ παρασημον, κεφαλὴν ταύρου. Est autem eadem Astarte, quae Aegyptiorum Isis, sive Luna; sic enim Lucianus, ipse Syrus, Ἀστάρη δὲ οὗτο δοκεῖ σελήνην ἑμμελεῖν. Tullius et Suidas Venerem [d]; alii Uraniam; alii Junonem [e] faciunt; alii aliter. Non quasi Graeca aut Romana voce sunt usi Asiae vel Africae populi, sed quia Latio vel Graeco nomine sic appellatio illa redderetur: et utunque diversae sunt appellationes, pro varietate locorum, uni Lunae, Syro sc. numini, omnes sunt attributae.

PRIMI omnium (inquit Pausanias in Att.) hanc Deam venerati sunt Assyrii [d]; ab his acceperunt Phoenices et Cyprii; ab illis Graeci et Afri. Iudaei etiam, a vero Deo deficientes, sacra ei fecerunt in templis, nemoribus, et lucis, sub nomine Astaroth vel Ashtoreth. Jud. iii. 7. 1 Reg. xi. 5.

— With these in troop

Came Ashtoreth, whom the Phoenicians call'd

Astarte, queen of heaven,—with crescent horns,

To whose bright image, &c. Milton, Par. Lost, i. 140.

[d] Ἀστάρη ἡ παρ' Ἑλλήνων Ἀφροδίτη λεγόμενη. Suid.

[e] Juno sine dubitatione ab illis Poenis sc.) Astarte vocatur. D. Augustin. de Civ. Dei.

[d] Vide et Is. xvi. 1. Hic duo videmus Babyloniorum Numina (Bel et Nebo) conjungi: at ea fuisse Solem et Lunam histo.ia omnis testatur. Casim.

DE antiquissimis Germanis, Cæsar : [c] *Germani Diorum numero eas solos ducunt, quos cernunt, et quorum opibus aperte juvantur, Solem, et Vulcanum, et Lunam; reliquos ne fama quidem receperunt.* Saxones, cum in Angliam venissent, à rege Britonum de religione interrogati, respondent : *Siverd de religione quaeritur, novis nos, juxta morem paternum, Solem adorare.* Luna ejus aemula, pari cultu divino apud majores nostros (ait Otto Germanus, in lib. de Diis Vialibus,) fuit celebrata. Quin et ab ipsis Britannis coleretur, nihil sit dubii [f].

SED in primis huc pertinet quod eidem tanquam Deae Biviae in viis publicis adorea liba obtulerunt. Jer. vii. 17, 18 [g]. Philemon in Mendico,

Amica præsces Diana (quae eadem est) amica Domina,
Hanc affero tibi libationem.

VIARUM certè præsidem eam fore Jupiter auguratur; Call. Hymn. ver. 39.

— Kai µεν αρχαις
Εσθ, και λιµνησσα επικοπος.

[c] B. G. b. xxi.

[f] "We find some footsteps of this goddess (says Gale in his Court of the Gentiles,) and her worship among our old Britains: So Dion in Nero brings in a British Amazon, called Boadovica, with her hands lifted up to heaven, praying thus, *I give the thanks, O Adraste, and invoke thee, Thou Mother of Mothers.* Now Bochart makes this *Adraste* the same with *Astarte*; and likewise adds, to *Astarte*, the Phœnician God alludes *Aestur*, or *Easter*, that Saxon goddess to whom they sacrificed in April, by Bede styled Easter-moneth.

"That Syria was not merely a provincial title, is plain from the *Syria Dea* being worshipped at Eryx in Sicily; and from an inscription to her at Rome. She was worshipped under the same title in Britain, as we may infer from an inscription in Camden:

DEAE SYRIAE SVB CALPVRNIO LEO. AVG.

IOVI O. M. ET DEAE SYRIAE. Gruter.

D. M. SYRIAE SACRVM. ib." Jac. Bryant, Diss.

[g] Ubi vocatur Βασιδεσσα τε ουρανου. Similiter Hor. Carm. Sec. 35. *Siderum Regina* bicornis.

QUARE

QUARE inter infinita cognomenta alia, quibus ab Ethnicis hæc πολυωνυμος Dea est honorata, dicitur *Sotera*, *Sospitatrix*, *Servatrix*, et *Sospita*. Quin et a triviis, quibus præsidebat, dicta est *Trivia*. *Diana est ab eo dicta Trivia quod in trivio ponitur serè in oppidis Graecis.* Varr. lib. 6.

Tu potens Trivia, et notho es

Dicta lumine Luna. Catull. Carm. Sec. 35.

EADÉM ratione a Graecis passim vocatur *Θεός εν τριοδοις*, *Τριωδις*, &c. *Την Έκλην εν τοις τριοδοις θημων τοπαλειον, δια το την αυτην Σεληνη, και Αρσημιδα και Έκλην καλεισθαι.* Arist. Schol. in Plut. ii. 5.

Quod autem ad nomen Astartes, ait Suidas, *Αστειην* habere *απο τα αστρα ονομασθαι*: quod non ita capiendum, monet Vossius, quasi vox sit originis Graecae; sed quia et in Orientis linguis simili vel non multum absumpti ratione fidus nuncupatur. Unde et Zoroaster vox Persica, siquidem id Graecè signat *αστροθυην*. Alii nomen ex eo arcessunt, quod figura ovis coleretur, ex Heb. *Astaroth*, quod *τα μηλα* seu greges significat. Sed fortasse potius originem habet in radicali *Ast*; unde *Astus* vel *Asta*, *ignus Deus*: est, *esta*, *esia*, *Vesta*. (Vid. J. Bryant.)

2. *Εσορας*.---Quendam amicum το *εσορας* nequaquam aut rejiciendum aut mutandum esse olim monui: quippe formula in his rebus non est inusitata. Inter alias inscriptiones apud Fleetwood est videre,

Εικονα τονδ. εσαθραι. p. 141.

Φαιδρον. ελαιρον. Ερωτος. ορας. p. 173.

Εισορας. Δικηλον. οπως. p. 253.

Tu. qui. praeteries. *speEas*. monumentum. meum. p. 260.

Viator. Hic caesam Laodiam Publiam aspice. Graev. v. 6. 338.

3. *Παλχις*. Duram certè in se susciperet provinciam, qui, quisi-
nam hic fuit Pulcher, vellet reperire: an aliquis ex Secunda Legione

Augusta

Angusta quae tunc temporis in hac regione stipendia meruit, ipse a Graecis parentibus oriundus; aut ex iis qui in Graecis provinciis meruerunt; an modo ad exemplum aliarum ararum hanc etiam iussit inscribi; an praefectus; aut ex quodam sacerdotum ordine, feciali putà; frustra esset quaerere: satis sit dicere nomen proculdubio esse Romanum. In Claudiana familia reperiuntur Pulchri. (Rosinus in Indice) Pulcher Catonem furti accusavit. *Quae major indignitas esse potuit illius seculi, quam aut Pulcher accusator, aut reus Cato?* (Sen. Controv. 30.) Faem. Πυλχηρία. Suid. Pulcheria, Arcadii filia, imperatrix, nondum annos 15 nata, imperium optime administravit. Celebris illius Pulcheriae statua stabat in Chalce, &c.

TANTUM (satis superque dices) super hac inscriptione, quaedam fortasse de altera Corbrigensi mox dabit tui observantissimus,

THOMAS MORELL,

XXXIX. *An Account of some antient Roman Inscriptions, lately discovered in the Provinces of Istria and Dalmatia; with Remarks. In a Letter to the Reverend Doctor Milles, Dean of Exeter, and President of the Society of Antiquaries, from John Strange, Esq.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES June 9, 1774.

DEAR SIR,

SINCE you was pleased to inform me, that the views of the Society of Antiquaries are not confined merely to English Antiquities, but wish to extend themselves also to the more entertaining, as well as edifying, subjects of Roman Antiquities in general; I avail myself of the present opportunity to communicate to you some acquisitions of that kind, which I made, not long since, from the provinces of Istria and Dalmatia. They were communicated to me by the Abbé Fortis, of Padua, an ingenious and celebrated Italian Naturalist, whom I recommended, some time ago, to make the tour of those provinces with a learned friend of mine, and who, in return, very obligingly favoured me with an account of his itinerary, in a series of entertaining and instructive letters, which are now before me. His favourite pursuit was Natural History; but he

VOL. III.

X x

did

did not entirely neglect Antiquities. I shall therefore briefly extract from his letters such observations of that kind as appear to me mostly to merit attention. These respect principally some antient Roman inscriptions, which occasionally fell in his way, and which I do not find in other writers, at least among the more classical collectors, as Gruter, Fabretti, Muratori, &c. To these I shall add such pertinent remarks as occur to me upon the subjects of these inscriptions.

THE learned Abbé's first letter, which contains his remarks in Istria, acquaints me also of a very important Roman inscription, discovered, not long since, among a heap of ruins of old buildings, at Punta Cissana, on that coast. The following is an exact copy of it:

D. M.

Q. C. PETRONIO. M. C. PETRONII. F. VIVIRO. AVG.

PROC. BAPHII. CISSAE. HISTRIAE. ET. COLLEG.

PVRPVR. CISSENS. HISTRIAE. PATRONO.

T. COR. CHRYSOMALVS. PVRPVRARIVS. AVG. LIB.

I should imagine the reading of this inscription to be as follows:

Diis Manibus

*Quinto Caio Petronio Marci Caii Petronii filia Seviro [five Sexviro,]
Augustali*

Procuratori Baphii Histriae et Collegii

Purpurariorum Cissensum Histriae Patrono

Titus Cornelius Chrysomalus Purpurarius Augusti Libertus [posuit.]

Perhaps others might read *Quinto Cornelio Petronio Marci Cornelii Petronii*, &c. But I doubt whether there be any authority to support it; and yet the other reading is dubious, since it is not common that the same person should have two *praenomina*.

THE

THIS inscription is of great importance, as it fixes the situation of the antient *Ciffa*; which was before unknown. It also corrects an unaccountable mistake in Pancirolus [a]; who, treating of the Baphian purple, for *Ciffense* would read *Ciffense*; supposing, though without any foundation, that the Romans, in similar manufactures, made use of the shrub *cistus*. It seems, that the *procurator* named here was president of the manufactory established at Ciffa, and of the company of workmen, who formed a sort of society, or college, of which Chrysomalus, the author of the inscription, was in appearance a member. There was another manufactory of the same kind erected on the South-East coast of France, near *Narbonne*; which is also mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii Occidentalis*. Father Labbé [b] expressly gives us the list of these several manufactories. As the ancients principally extracted the purple colour from particular species of shell-fish, such manufactories were most conveniently established on the sea-coasts. It is well known, that these shell-fish were mostly univalves, and of the turbinated kind. Fabio Colonna, in a curious and scarce treatise *De Purpura*, printed at Rome 1616, 4to, mentions what Pliny, and the other antient writers, have said upon the subject. His book has since been reprinted, with copious notes, by John-Daniel Major, Kilix, 1675, 4to. Wadellius [c] has also given us another treatise on the *Purpura*; which is equally scarce. Besides these, Cole, Lister, Reaumur, and other authors, have contributed various memoirs on the same subject; which are to be found in the Philosophical Transactions, the volumes of the Academy of Sciences of Paris, and other periodical miscella-

[a] *Notit. Imper. Occident. cap. xxxiv.*

[b] *Notit. Dignitat. Imper. Rom. sect. 42. p. 85.*

[c] *De Purpura et Byss, Jenae, 1706, 4to.*

nies. Notwithstanding these authors describe different species of shell-fish that produce the purple colour; yet I am persuaded, that many others remain undiscovered that have the same properties: for I have myself accidentally found it in a species of *cassida* on the Roman coast, hitherto, unnoticed; and, since it is known to exist in other different shell-fish, analogy in the animal œconomy would lead us to suspect it again in others of the same class. I am also apt to think, that the *Cochleæ purpuram fundentes* were better known to the antients than they seem to be to us; since their researches after them were prompted by interest as well as curiosity. But to return to the learned Abbé and his inscription, which is the more valuable, as few of that kind are to be met with in Gruter, Fabricii, Muratori, and the other collectors.

MR. FORTIS passed from Dalmatia into Italy; and, in another letter, acquaints me with the following inscription, which he discovered at Ariano, between Naples and Manfredonia; a tract of country very seldom visited by curious travellers. It is as follows:

GENIO
COLONIAE
HENEVENTAN.
SEPPIA C. F. FIDELIS
DE SVA PEC.
L. D. D. D.

IN another curious and interesting letter, speaking of *IZZA*, now *Lissa*, an island near the coast of Dalmatia, in which there formerly existed a flourishing Grecian republic; he informs me of another antient Roman inscription, which he copied from a stone in a bricklayer's house, and which runs thus:

SACERDOS. Q.

BARONIVS. Q.

S. TEM. ET. ARAS.

IOVI. HERCLIDI.

B. F. C.

THE Abbé also informs me, that although scarce any vestiges of ancient buildings remain in the island, yet coins are often found there, and most commonly such as have the head of Minerva on one side, and on the other a goat, with the name of the country, ΙΕΣΑ. They sometimes find likewise antique urns, that have a varnish upon them, and much resemble the Etruscan both in their forms and ornaments. Formerly other inscriptions were found, and some statues; but nothing of this kind is seen there at present but the *torso*, or trunk, of a military figure, which is in the possession of Count Radosick. In the same letter the Abbé observes, that at Zara, the capital of Dalmatia, near the coast, are seen the remains of an ancient Roman pavement, which is six feet below the present surface of the sea. I shall observe here, that the surface of the Adriatic is rather supposed to have gained in elevation; and that the difference of the ebb and flow of the tides in it is very inconsiderable. The former fact, if I mistake not, has been sufficiently ascertained by Manfredi, or some other of the Bolognese mathematicians; and is accountable enough, if we consider the quantity of sand that must be washed down from the countries on each side of this long and narrow gulf by the numberless rivers, and particularly the Po. The Venetians are but too sensible of this truth, and have long suffered a very considerable and increasing expence, to keep open the channels of their Lagoon, and restrain the encroachments of the sea. I shall also further observe, that no river perhaps collects so many streams in

in so short a course as the Po. It may be considered even as the characteristic of that river; and was taken notice of by the all-knowing Pliny [d], who, speaking of it, expressly says, *nec alius annium tam brevi spacio majoris incrementi est*. There is a map extant, I forget by whom, of the course of the Po, in three sheets: and I had once the curiosity to enumerate, in this map, the several streams, great and small, that unite with the Po, between its source and junction with the Adriatic. Though I cannot refer to the memorandum I then took, yet I very well remember, that the number of these streams amounted to upwards of two hundred. This extraordinary increase is owing to the particular situation of the Po, which, having its course between the Alps and Appennines, and in a manner parallel with them, necessarily receives almost all the streams that flow towards it from those different chains of mountains. And, since the gulf of Venice is circumstanced in the same manner, with respect also to the Appennines on one side, and the mountains of Dalmatia on the other; we need not be surprized at the numberless streams that unite with it, and the elevation they give to its surface by the sands they wash down into it from the mountains. As to the tides in the Adriatic, the celebrated Janus Plancus, or Giovanni Bianchi, of Rimini, on that coast, has determined them by accurate observations in an express treatise [e]. I have also observed, that the tides are very inconsiderable, and almost insensible, on the opposite coast of Tuscany, towards the Mediterranean. But to return from this digression, occasioned by my desire of accounting, in some measure, for the present situation of the Roman pavement. In the same letter, Abbé Fortis acquaints me, that

[d] Nat. Hist. Lib. III. cap. xvi.

[e] *De aestu portus litorisque Ariminensis*.

Roman urns are also found on the coast of Zuri, a small island near Dalmatia; and that the little island Mortar, in the same neighbourhood, is supposed to be the *Colentum* of the Antients.

IN another letter, the learned Abbé informs me, that, between Seign and Clissa, the *Hissa* of Caesar, and by some thought *Andetrium*, in Dalmatia, he copied, from the side of a house, the following inscription, which does not seem to be of the latter times :

M. VALERIO
DONICO
NATVS DOMO
CELEBIA E7 CHOR III
ALPINORVM FECIT
HERENNIA PVDEN
TILLA CONIVGI
BENE MERENTI

HE further observes, in the same letter, that Caesar seems to have been mistaken in placing the ancient *Salona* near Spalatro, *in edito colle*; which does not at all agree with the situation of its ruins. Nor is it agreeable to the account which Lucan gives of it in the following lines:

*Qua maris Adriaci longas ferit unda Salonas,
Et tepidum in molles zephyros excurrit Hyader.*

IN a subsequent letter, Mr. Fortis confines his account to Seign, in Morlacchia, and its environs. He observes, that there are scarce any visible remains of the antient *Aequum*, which was situated on the side of a hill, above the vale of Settina, and near Seign. Pieces of cornices, pillars, and other such fragments, are however often dug up near Seign; and lately an inscription was found that contains the antient name of the place. Being long, and the stone on which it was engraved of
course

course very bulky, it was barbarously broken into three pieces, in order to be removed to Seign; when, unfortunately, one of the pieces, which contained the beginning of the inscription, and consequently the name of the person to whom it was dedicated, was lost. What remains of it is as follows:

.
 LEG. A
 PROVINCIAE. SYRIAE.
 LEG. AVG. PR. PR.
 PROVINC. BRITANAE.
 LEG. AVG. PR. PR. PRO
 VINCIAE. GERMAN.
 INFERIORIS. PRAEF.
 AERARI. SATVRNI.
 LEG. LEG. XXX. VLPIAE.
 PRAETOR. TRIBVNO.
 PLEBIS. QVAESTORI.
 AVG. TRIB. LATI
 CLAVO. LEG. X. FRETEN
 SIS. TRIVMVIRO.
 A. A. A. P. P.
 AEQVENSES.
 MVNICIPES.

MONSIGNOR Filippo della Torre, Archbishop of Udine, in the Venetian state, has discoursed particularly on the Fretensian legions in his learned work, entitled, *De Inscriptione M. Aquillii*. Mr. Fortis observes, that he saw some vestiges of an antient Roman amphitheatre on the hill of Aequum; and the remains of an aqueduct, part of which appears to have been cut in the solid rock. Some suppose the antient *Aleta* to have been situated precisely where Seign now stands; but there is no foundation

dation for this opinion from any remains observeable immediately upon the spot. There is, indeed, on the wall of the apothecary's house at Seign, an antient Roman inscription on Grecian marble; but this might have been removed from Aequum, or any other neighbouring, destroyed, antient city, and cannot in the least contribute to authorize a settlement. This inscription is as follows:

LIBERO. AVG.

SACRVM

L. AEBVTIVS. L. F.

SER. CELER. AED.

II VIR. ID. EX. P.

THE ingenious abbé's eighth and last letter contains an account of his observations on his return from Morlachia to Zara, by the way of Scardona, where the states of antient Liburnia were held in the time of the Romans. He observes, that Knin is supposed to have been *Arduba*, though with little foundation, since no visible remains exist there. Coins of the Antonini are, however, sometimes found about Knin; but no argument can be collected from thence in proof of a station. Near a considerable cascade of the river Kerka, called Bobordol, was found, not long ago, an architrave of Grecian marble, richly carved with flowers, tortoisés, crocodiles, &c. The friars of a convent at Knin had it removed thither; and destroyed this superb monument of antiquity, to employ the stone in a building. The Kerka, like the Velinus in Italy, which forms the famous cascade at Terni, deposits in its channel, and in a quantity, a calcareous sediment; and, which is rather extraordinary, the architrave just-mentioned was found buried seven feet deep in this sediment, in the channel of the river, upon its being opened by publick order.

BETWEEN Knin and the monastery of San Arcangelo, in the desert of Bukoviza, Mr. Fortis observed some remains of Roman buildings, but of little consideration; and, among other trifling fragments of Roman inscriptions, the following, in large and well-preserved characters, engraved on a stone ornamented with bass-reliefs:

P. GAVIVS

P. P. SCAPTIA

BASSVS PIO

About a mile further, at Suplacerqua, which, in the language of that country, signifies *a perforated church*, he was agreeably surprized by the discovery of three antient arches united together, which, a few years ago, were joined by two others, that have since been destroyed by the people of the country, in order to employ the stone in other buildings. The largest of the three remaining arches measures about twenty feet in width, and is disproportionately wide with respect to its height, which however Mr. Fortis does not mention. The two others, which are on the right side of the large one, measure each about ten feet wide. The largest arch has, therefore, the opposite defect of the celebrated one at Ancona, which is observed to be too high for its width. With what intent these five arches, so united together, could have been built, it is difficult to determine; unless they were designed as a triumphal monument of five arches, in which case their numbers may compensate for the architecture and ornaments, which are very bad. By the distribution of the latter, it seems, that the whole body of them stood isolated; and I presume, that the two arches, which were destroyed, corresponded with the two smallest of the remaining three, and were joined to the opposite side of the large arch; which circumstance Mr. Fortis does not mention, sup-

posing

posing perhaps that it might be taken for granted, something of symmetry at least being seldom wanting in any buildings, though other defects appear. He observes, that the three remaining arches are greatly decayed, and the stone of which they are built of very inferior quality. In the course of his journey, at Roschislup, on the river Kerka, where there is a fine cascade, the learned Abbé copied the following inscription from the side of a rock :

T. CILLIVS.

T. P. FAB.

DOMO. LARA

NDA VET.

LEG. XI. ANN. LXX.

STIPENDIORV.

[XX]XXIIX

Not far from the same place, on the fragment, or broken mass, of another rock, Mr. Fortis discovered the ensuing inscription, which is imperfect:

P. P. S...

... OL. F EN

... QVADR

... D. TE

RANORVM

LEG IIII. MAG.

ANO... NA XI.

VICIN. PIETAS.

OSSA [RE]P[O]SVIT

O.....C.....

His next acquisitions, in the way of Antiquities, were at Scardona, which still retains its antient name. Roman coins, are frequently found in the neighbourhood; but there are no

remains of the ancient city. He, however, copied the two following inscriptions, which were found at Scardona about three years ago, and are at present in the possession of the Reverend Mr. Mercati, a canon of the cathedral church there. They are as follow:

GENIO	NERONI CAESARI
MVNICIPI	GERMANICI. P. TI.
EL. SCARD.	AVG. N. DIVI. AVG. PRO-
C. PETRONIVS	FLAMINI. AVG.
FIRMVS OB	CIVITATES LIBERNIAE
HONOREM AVG.	

L. D. D. D.

THIS is the result of Mr. Fortis's researches in his Dalmatian tour, as far as the subject of Antiquities is concerned; and, since the inscriptions, which form the principal object, mostly come from an unexplored country, I flatter myself they will prove the more acceptable to you, Sir, and to the other gentlemen of the Society, to whom you will be pleased to present them, whenever you think proper, and for which you have also my friend's leave. I can answer for the fidelity of my copies of these inscriptions, according to the original manuscript, which is now before me. Not relying upon my own casual knowledge, I also thought proper to ask Mr. Fortis, as most interested in the subject, and consequently, in all probability, better informed, whether any of the said inscriptions had ever appeared before in print. He informed me, that none of them had been published, as far as he knew, except the two last at Scardona, which had lately been inserted in a pamphlet published at Rome by the Abbé Terri, a learned Antiquary residing there.

I HAVE

I HAVE not ventured, in this account, to touch upon the subject of Natural History; since Mr. Fortis's observations in that branch engross many sheets, and are moreover foreign to the present purpose. I shall however observe, as well from those observations, as my own remarks on the Venetian state, that there seems to be a very great affinity between the physical geography of these neighbouring countries, especially in the mountainous parts, where the same fossil bodies, the same kind of *strata*, and the same mixture of *lava* and lime-stone, are observable; for *lava* abounds in the Venetian state full as much as in any other part of Italy, and is also frequent in Dalmatia and Morlacchia; which circumstances I mention, since vulcanic researches seem to be the favourite pursuits of the Naturalists of the present times. I shall also observe, that pudding-stone often forms whole mountains in those countries; and there are even chains of mountains of it in Friuli, which occupy a very considerable tract, and are particularly described by Constantini [f], a Venetian writer, in his treatise on the Deluge. Nor need the affinity, observable in the physical geography of these countries, at all surprize us, if we consider that the mountains in them form, as it were, a *cul de sac* at the head of the Adriatic gulf, and that under such circumstances a similitude of phaenomena commonly prevails.

I HAVE nothing more to add, upon the present occasion, but that I am, with very great respect and esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

and faithful, humble servant,

Lyon, April 25, 1774.

JOHN STRANGE.

[f] *La Verità del Diluvio.*

XL. *Further*

XL. *Further Observations on Pen-maen-mawr. By Governor Pownall. In a Letter to Mr. Gough.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Nov. 10, 1774.

S I R,

Sept. 28, 1774.

IN the account which I gave to the Society of the Mount of Pen-maen-mawr, called *Bre-y-Dinas**, I said that the publick might expect a more particular account from Mr. Pennant, who had gone twice over it, and did intend to have an actual survey made of it.

I DID take upon me to be positive, that the place *had never been a fortress*, as it was supposed to be by the account which Dr. Gibson transcribed into his edition of Camden. I supposed it to be one of those Druidical HIGH PLACES which were *separated off from common profanation*, and were consecrated to the holy offices of divine worship. I did suppose that the circles, which were said to be within its enclosures, were holy compartments, exactly of the same kind as those found at Carn-bre in Cornwall. It did appear to me, who had traced the *vestigia* of the temple of Carn-bre, to be a temple of the very same kind. Mr. Pennant has since caused a more accurate draught to be taken of its parts,

* See before, p. 303.

and

and has in the most obliging manner sent me a drawing of it. Captain Grose was so kind, as to make an etching of this drawing, and it is hereunto annexed. The drawing would make a companion to that which Mr. Borlase made of Carn-bre. The forms of the general enclosure and of the interior adyte are almost precisely the same; and the little circular enclosures lie dispersedly scattered about exactly in the same manner.

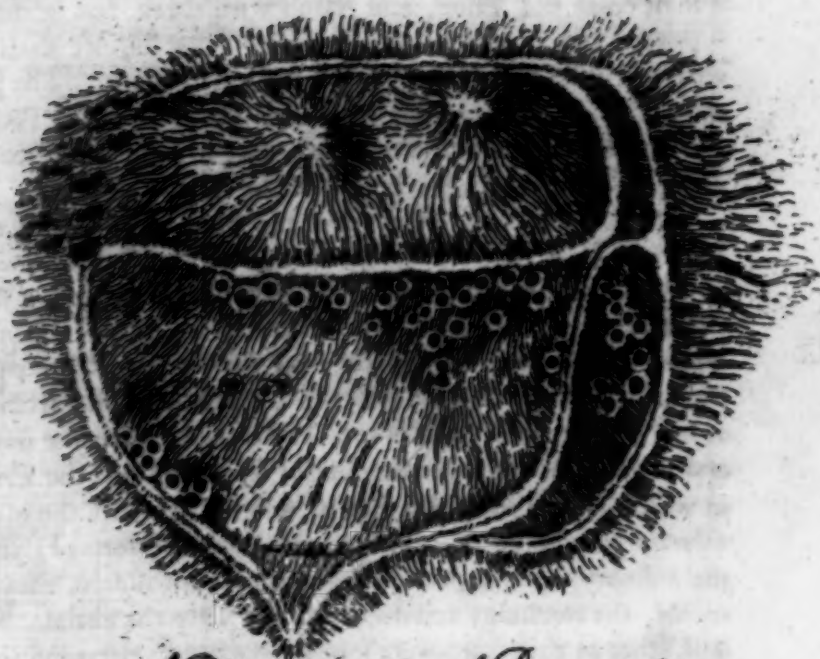
we may compare the profane rites of Idolatry to the sacred ones of the pure worship of the Spirit in Truth; we shall find in the outward and visible forms enough to mark, that, although they were corrupt and become abominable, yet they were originally derived from the true and sacred source.

We read of *the Mount of God*, even prior to the Mo-
saic institution (Exodus, xviii. 5.). And, previous to the com-
mencement of this institution, on the spot *where the Lord*
came down upon Mount Sinai, to deliver the Law to his people,
the consecration of the Holy Place was by the same forms as this
appears to lie under. First, the Mount itself was separated by
one general line of consecration enclosing the whole. Next, the
Mount is divided into an outward and holy, an inward and more
sacred *holy of holies*, the place of the Presence, or Symbol. The
people at large were prohibited, under the highest denunciations
of divine vengeance and by the severest capital penalties, from
intruding upon the Holy Mount. The priests were indeed per-
mitted to *come near*, and to enter into the first orb, within the
first enclosure; but the high-priests alone could approach and
enter into the *Place of the Presence*. Exodus, xix. 12.
“And thou shalt set bounds unto the people round about, say-
“ing, Take heed to yourselves, that ye go not up into the
“Mount; or touch the border of it: whosoever toucheth the
“Mount shall be surely put to death.” Ver. 20. “And the Lord
“called

“ called Moses up to the *top of the Mount*: and the Lord said unto
 “ Moses, Go down, and charge the people, lest they break through
 “ unto the Lord to gaze, and many perish.” Ver. 22. “ And
 “ let the priests also, *which come near to the Lord*, sanctify them-
 “ selves, lest the Lord break forth upon them.” Ver. 24. “ Thou
 “ shalt come up, Thou, and Aaron with thee: but let not the
 “ priests and people break through:” that is, let each keep
 within the bounds appointed as before for each. The priests
 might *come near to*, but *not enter into*, the place of the Presence,
 at the *top of the Mount*: the people were to remain without, nor
 was a hand to touch, the border of the Mount.

WITH these ideas let us view the plan of *this* consecrated Mount. Here is, first, an *outward line of holy separation*, by which the whole Mount is consecrated. There is next, a double and *more sacred separation*, by which *the top of the Mount*, the BRE-Y-TINAS, *the Mount of the Holy Fire*, or the Representative Presence, is made secrete and sacred: into this the arch-druid or high-priests alone could enter. The space between the outward and inward, or more sacred, line of separation was the *Pronaos*, in which all the *secondary* rites of religion, and all those duties *wherein religion mixed with the civil*, were performed: such as the ordinary sacrifices, the consecration of the children, the judgments, the teachings and divining, and lastly the burials. Hence it is, that in this space were found cromlechs, cistvaens, judgment-seats, holy basins, rocking-stones, and these circular chapels. I do not mean to be understood as supposing that all these several particulars are to be found within this space, on this Holy Mount, now the subject of my inquiry; but in this, and in that of Carn-bre, I may venture to say all may be enumerated. In my former paper I had, in the spirit of conjecture, said I would call this Mount Carn-bre as well as that in Cornwall so called.

But,



A Plan of the Top of Penman mawr

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME
IN TWO VOLUMES
BY NATHANIEL BENTLEY
VOLUME THE SECOND
PUBLISHED BY J. B. BENTLEY
1822

But, since I have been taught, by Mr. Bryant's and Major Valancey's learning, the rites of the Fire-worship, and especially those which were performed on *the tops* of mountains, I am bold to hazard the calling this hill (whole vulgate name is pronounced *Bre-y-Dinas*, The Hill of the City) BRE-Y-TINAS, *The Mount of Fire*. I need not rummage over quotations to prove, that on these cars was lighted up the *sacred fire of Bel*, or Baal; and that they were actually the *presence-place* of this fire of Baal; it would be needless to any one the least learned in these matters; it would be impertinent to this learned Society to do it. But, when I am taught by Mr. Bryant (for this peculiar I first learnt from him) that many of these mounts had a *double carn*, representing the breasts of a woman, and were therefore called *Aépor Magondele*, and then contemplate *the particular mammulary form of this double carn*, I cannot suffer myself to doubt one moment of the precise nature of it. Far be it from me to assimilate, by the most distant comparison, the sacred rites to the profane abominations of Idolatry: yet if I might suppose, that in the earliest times, or in some such remote and separate corner of the earth as this is, the people did yet retain, not wholly corrupted, the old patriarchal rites, such as the Holy Scriptures frequently speak of as prior to, and cotemporary with, the revealed religion of the Lord, I could, after viewing this place, and reading the nineteenth chapter of Exodus, describing the most sacred ceremony of the true religion, raise up to myself some lively images of the imitative, but false and superstitious, ceremonies of the beggarly elements of the Fire-worship.

THAT the tombs and burial-places were within the precincts of the temples, one might prove by numberless quotations and facts. One taken from Virgil, descriptive of this custom, will be sufficient:

*Tum vicina astris Ericino in vertice sedes
Fundatur Veneri Idaliæ ; tumuloque sacerdos
Et lucus late sacer additur Anchiseo [g].*

Here we find the tomb of Anchises, erected within the temple of Venus, itself established as a kind of chapel, with a priest, something similar to the Romish chapels erected for saying masses for the dead, to whom these chapels are dedicated. The small circular holy compartments, found within the precincts of the *Pronaos* of this temple, were certainly of this kind.

UPON the whole, these very curious remains of Antiquity are not only an existing exemplar of those temples dedicated to the ancient Fire-worship, which with such uncommon learning Mr. Bryant has first explained to the world ; but the parts point out the real existence, and explain the nature, of many of the ceremonies of the old religion, of which we knew, or perhaps yet know, so little. I cannot therefore conclude without wishing to have it marked, that this temple, this *Bre-y-Tinas*, and the Carn-bre, are two the most curious pieces of antiquity that are to be found perhaps in the known parts of the world. They certainly deserve the most accurate examination, and the most attentive consideration ; and if, in this little memoir (*fungar vice cotis*), I could hope to raise the curiosity of the learned, I am sure some of these inquiries will lead to many very important discoveries. If the curious and the learned copy the example of Mr. Pen-nant, we shall begin to understand what we have been used only to stare at with wonder ; and Antiquities will become objects of knowledge, instead of mere curiosity.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

T. POWNALL.

[g] *Æneid. lib. v. ver. 760.*

XLI. *An*

Antient Swords found in the Bog of Cullen in the County of Tipperary in Ireland.

This sword had been broken & soldered at this.

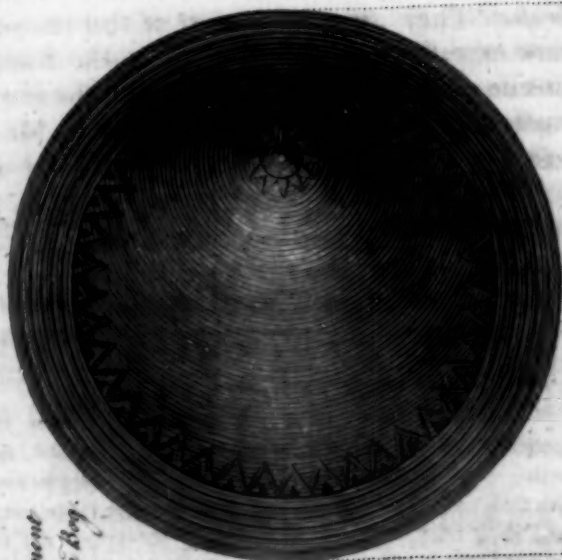


2 feet 2 inches & 2



2 feet 3 inches & 2

A Gold Ornament found in the same Bog.



4 inches & 2

Profile of the same.



4 inches & 2

Drawn from the Originals by Wm. P. Wood.

Antient

XLI. *An Account of some Irish Antiquities: By Governor Pownall.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, February 10, 1774.

IN the course of last year I exhibited to the Society two swords, and some other fragments said to have been parts of an image found in a bog at Cullen, in the county of Tipperary, in Ireland, on the lands of Lord Milton. These are now in the possession of that noble lord; and his politeness gave me an opportunity of communicating them.

FOR the descriptions of their forms I refer to the drawings [a] which I then laid before the Society. The swords were of that metal which, in our common translations of the ancients, we call *brass*. They are not however of that temperament which we now express by that word. That the Society might have a precise and philosophic description of the metal, I applied to the master of the mint; and by his direction Mr. Alchorn, his Majesty's assay-master, made an accurate assay of the metal. "It

[a] See Plate XIX. Count Caylus has engraved one such, tom. II. pl. xxiii. 1. which he calls the *Pugio, Paroninium* and *Gladus Hispanicus*. It came from *Herculanum*, and is 18 inches long.

Dr. Pococke shewed the Society, 1754, drawings of some weapons found near Tipperary. They are of mixed metal, of the colour of gold even when broken, and of the size as drawn. The handles were perished. The blades were in the possession of counsellor Harris in Dublin.

Mr. Brereton shewed, 1776, a sword found in the Severn by Quatford, in Shropshire, the only ford on that river for several miles, and not far from Bridge-north. It is supposed the only one of the sort found in Great Britain, and agrees with these and with those brought by Sir William Hamilton from Canaan, except in size, being from end to end, including the gripe, and allowing for a piece of the point broken off, 21 inches long, and one inch six tenths in the broadest part.

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"appears,"

"appears," he says, "to be chiefly copper, interspersed with particles of iron, and perhaps some zinck, but without containing either gold or silver: it seems probable, that the metal was cast in its present state, and afterwards reduced to its proper figure by filing. The iron might either have been obtained with the copper from the ore, or added afterwards in the fusion, to give the necessary rigidity of a weapon. But I confess myself unable to determine any thing with certainty."

THE known abilities of this gentleman, and the philosophic diffidence under which he gives his opinion on the matter, will to the learning of this Society become a truer judgement than any positive decision could produce.

THE apparent palpable properties of the metal are, that it is of a texture which takes an exquisitely fine polish, and in its colour exhibits more of the colour of gold than of brass or copper. It is of a temper which carries a sharp edge, and is in a great degree firm and elastic, and very heavy. It is also of a peculiar nature that resists rust; which appears from the condition in which it was found, after lying in a bog for so many ages. The blemish which the metal has contracted is rather that of a tarnish than rust, and is of a fine deep brilliant purple colour.

THE use of this species of metal for weapons and other military purposes did not only exist prior to the invention of the use of iron, but, from the nature of the properties above noticed, continued in estimation for these purposes many ages after the use of iron was discovered, as appears from Homer, Hesiod [b], and all the Greek and Roman historians. And, indeed, until the art of tempering steel to the perfection to which it was brought in the later ages of the world, this metal seems for these purposes much superior. Brazen swords (I must sup-

[b] Τὸ δ' ἦν χαλκία μὲν τεύχεα, χαλκίοι δ' ἐπὶ οἴκοι,

Χαλκὸν δ' ἐργάζοντο, μέλας δ' αὖν ἔσσι σιδήρεος.

Hesiod. Op. & Di. i. 149.

pose of the same nature as these) have been found in Cornwall[c].

BEFORE I enter into the inquiry which may lead us to form a judgement to whom and to what nation we may ascribe these swords, I will describe some other matters found in the same parts, as these may illustrate at least, if not confirm, the opinion which I have been led to give.

THE fragment, which was said to be part of an image found at the same time, is of a black wood, entirely covered and plated with thin gold, and seems to have been part of the breasts, the tet or nipple of which is radiated in hammered or chased work, in lines radiating from a centre, as is usual in the images of the Sun; and round the periphery, or setting on of the breast, there are like radiations in a specific number, with other linear ornaments. There is another fragment of the same kind of wood, which seems to be a fragment of an Ammonian horn: there are in it the golden studs or rivets by which it may be supposed to have been also plated with gold. The first account I had of this image was, that it was of an human form, with a lion's face; then, that it was indeed biform, but of what sort not specified. I have since been informed, that the image, whatever it was, was of a size sufficient to make a gate-post, to which use it was applied. If the story of the biform shape, with the lion's face, be true, it was certainly the symbolic image of Mithras, as used by the Gaditani; for which I will refer to the Saturnalia of Macrobius, lib. i. c. 10. where he quotes an historical passage, to shew that the Hercules, of Gades and the Sun were one and the same *numen*, represented by biform figures, with heads of lions, radiated like the sun: "Theron, rex Hispaniæ Citerioris, cum ad expugnandum Herculis templum ageretur furore, instructus exercitu navium, Gaditani ex adverso venerunt advecti navibus longis; commissoque

[c] See Leland's Itin. vol. iii. p. 5. 8vo.

“ prælio, adhuc æquo Marte existente pugna, subito in fugam
 “ versa sunt regiae naves, simulque improvise igne correptæ con-
 “ flagrauerunt. Paucissimi qui superfuerunt hostium capti in-
 “ dicaverunt apparuisse sibi leones proris Gaditani classis super-
 “ stantes, ac subito suas naves immixtis radiis, quales in solis ca-
 “ pite pinguntur exustas.” That Mithras was so represented, num-
 berless medals testify. From the known and confirmed inter-
 course of this Phœnician or Cathaginian colony with Ireland,
 not only all difficulty as to *this* symbolic form ceases, but both
 the nature of it and the historic proposition are thereby illustrated
 and the more confirmed.

WHATEVER the image was, I must refer it to this line of later
 theology, rather than to the Celtic Druidic theology of the more
 ancient Irish; for although their symbolic idols were said to be co-
 vered with gold and silver, yet they were but unhewn stones, and
 not images containing any organized form. To the colonies, or
 rather to the settlements and factories of the later people of Car-
 thage, or Gades, and not to the original Phœnician colonies, I
 refer these several things heretofore and herein after described.
 One circumstance as to the swords seems to me decisive: they are
 as exactly and as minutely to every apparent mark the same with
 the swords of Sir William Hamilton's collection, now in the Bri-
 tish Museum, as if they came out of the same armory: the for-
 mer, found in the fields of Cannæ, are said to be Carthaginian;
 these therefore, by parity of reason, may likewise be said to be of
 the same people.

It does not appear, as far as I know, that the Romans were
 ever in Ireland either as soldiers or merchants: the Carthaginians,
 or at least the Gaditani, certainly were there.

MR. O'CONNOR, in his Dissertations on the history of Ireland,
 p. 14. and p. 90. says, that, soon after the arrival of the Scots
 from Spain, we read of Uchadan of Cuala, who rendered him-
 self

self famous by his skill in the fabrication of metals; and for this he quotes Leabhar, Gabhala, or the Book of Conquests Part I. & omnes veteres Mss. passim. But I cannot feel myself disposed on this ground to refer the fabric of these swords to this shop.

IN matters of this sort, where the best and most coherent account can be only conjecture, I give the following as such: that as I suppose these swords to have been articles of Carthaginian sale, as we of this day sell arms to the Indians and Africans; so, from a comparison of the ancient Druidical theology and religion of Ireland, with the corrupted theology of the Carthaginians and of their colonies, I feel persuaded to refer the idol and the various vessels and instruments of religious ceremonies, found in the same parts, to the ritual of this later idolatry, used in these particular settlements, but never in general use amongst the people of Ireland at large. But let the things speak for themselves; the account of them, and of the finding of them, as it was sent from Ireland, is as follows:

An Account of some antique Curiosities, found in a small bog near Cullen, in the county of Tipperary.

IN digging away the bog, about six feet deep, as far as it extended, there was nothing found, only trunks of different trees, all rotten except the oak and fir, which were for the most part sound, and some horns, large enough to have a circle of about three feet in diameter described on each palm.

1731. In the second cutting was found a brazen vessel, containing two gallons and a half, which had four legs, a broad-bumped bottom, growing narrow to the neck, from which it was wider towards the brim, and weighed nineteen pounds.

1732. A

1732. A poor woman, taking up a black slimy stuff, which lies very deep, to die wool, found three pieces of bright metal of equal size and shape, in the form of heaters used in smoothing; which, weighing seven pounds and a half, she sold as brass. The same year, a labourer found a piece of gold, like the frustum of a spheroid, less than half a small egg, which weighed three ounces, four pennyweights, and seven grains.

1738. In the turf-mould were found seven things of a shining metal, about five inches long each, two inches of which formed a socket of three quarters of an inch in diameter, in each of which was a shaft of rotten wood about nine inches long; from the socket each of them was two-edged, and tapered to a point; on either side was a beard an inch and a half long from the point, with the edge turning out, so as to have formed a cross. There were also at the same time, and of the same metal, thirteen more found, each ten inches long, four inches of which formed a socket about one inch and three quarters in diameter at the entrance of the handle, from which to the blade it gradually lessened: the handles were of quartered ash, and each about six feet long, which seemed sound, but on taking them up they soon mouldered away: the blades were broad on either side near the sockets, but gradually more acute towards the point: these they now judge to have been arrows, those spears; for they were sold the same day to a pedlar as brass; all of them weighed six pounds and a half.

1739. A boy found a circular plate of beaten gold, about eight inches in diameter, which, lapped up in the form of a triangle, inclosed three ingots of gold, which they say could not weigh less than a pound; for the boy no sooner brought them

them home than his mother, a poor widow, gave them to a merchant, on whose land she had a cabin, as brags to make weights.

1742. A CHILD found on the brink of a hole a thin plate of gold, in the form of an ellipsis, the transverse diameter as if it were about two inches and a quarter long, and the conjugate less than an inch, weighing eighteen pennyweights, fifteen grains.

1744. A POOR woman found a small gold cup, almost in the form of a wine-glass, the handle of which was hollow, and about one inch and a half from the bottom to the cup, which was chased, and contained as much as a small thimble; the bottom was as broad as a silver sixpence, and flat; the handle was as thick as a large goose-quill; and which weighed twenty-one pennyweights, twelve grains. About the same time, a man found a tube about four inches long, and as thick as the stem of a tobacco-pipe; which weighed one ounce, seven pennyweights, twenty grains.

1745. Two women found a quadrangular vessel, of a bright yellow metal, each side of which was about ten inches long at the brim, and eight inches from the brim to the bottom outside; five inches from the brim towards the bottom was entirely flat both within and without; the remaining part, convex and concave, was semi-globular; on either side was an handle in the form of those in common pots. This they kept for two years (for they were sisters, and lived together), and then gave it to a tinker for thirteen pence and mending an old pot: they say it could not have weighed less than forty pounds.

1747. A GIRL found in the turf-dust a thin plate of gold, rolled on another, which when extended was fourteen inches

long, and about a quarter of an inch broad, of which a fellow standing by took above half from her: what he left weighed six pennyweights, thirteen grains. Soon after, an apprentice-girl found one ounce five pennyweights of the same kind, rolled after the same manner, in a sod of turf, as she made a fire.

1748. A MAN found a brass weapon, two feet seven inches long, which was two edged, and tapered from the hilt to the point: these edges very much resembled the fin which spreads out on both sides of an eel from the navel to the top of the tail; it seemed to be cast in that form, and never whetted; and the rest of the blade between four edges was not unlike the part of an eel's tail between both fins, but it was not so substantial. It was one inch three quarters broad near the hilt, from which it gradually grew narrower four inches towards the point to one inch one quarter, from which to the middle it increased to one inch one seventh; from the middle it grew narrower till it terminated in an acute point. The blade was near half an inch thick from the hilt to the middle, from which it grew less substantial to the point. The part taken for the hilt was about five inches long, near an inch broad in the middle, and not so much near the blade, or the place of the pomel, on either side of which it spread out about one one quarter of an inch: it was about one eighth of an inch thick; and in it were six rivets, viz. two at the end, two in the middle, and two near the blade, with two more about one quarter of an inch from the hilt near the edges; each rivet was about three quarters of an inch long, an equal part of which stood out on either side of the hilt, and on one of them hung a thin piece

piece of gold, which weighed twelve pennyweights nine grains.

1749. A MAN found some gold, part of which he sold from time to time, and which, he says, was of the same piece with part of a plate which he sold last September, and which I saw at the same time. The plate from which it was broken was round, and no less than ten inches in diameter: there was a gold wire inlaid round the rim; and about three inches towards the center there was a gold twist sewed in and out, which was broken because of taking a plate about four inches in diameter out of the large one to which it was sewed with the twist; for that which was ten inches in diameter had a hole in the middle, wherein one of four inches would fit, and be concentric to the first. This part of the plate with three or four broken pieces which were like the barrels of large quills cut off and split open, and about the same length, weighed two ounces, two pennyweights, ten grains. I am informed he has part of it yet.
1750. A MAN found a small plate of gold, in the form of an equilateral triangle, each side about an inch three quarters long, which he sold without weighing to a pedlar for 2*l.* 12*s.* The same man's wife soon after found in a sod of turf a piece of gold, which weighed eleven pennyweights, sixteen grains. The same year, a fool, cutting turf, found three rings like ring-dials: one of which he put on the end of a walking-staff, whereon it remained until his father found it was gold, and took it from him. He hid the other two, cannot recollect were; and now they cannot be found. He says, he also at the same time found a lump in the form of a large egg, with a chain hanging

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from one end of it ; which he either lost, or had it stolen out of his pocket by one of the labourers.

1751. A MAN found such another weapon as that found 1748, on the rivets of which was a plate of gold, which covered one side of that wherein the rivets stood, at the end of which was a thing like the pomel of a small sword, with three links of a chain hanging out of it : all weighed three ounces, three pennyweights, eleven grains.

1752. APRIL 10, as some boys, who played on a hill at one side of the bog, were going home, one of them thirteen years of age, being out before the rest, leaped over a small trench which divides the bog, before the others came up ; and, turning about to see them leap after him, saw a broad shining thing jutting out of the opposite bank, at which being something surprised, he cryed out, " I see !" and on a sudden looking towards the hill, and running as fast as he could, continued to cry, " I see two rabbits : " on which all the rest of the boys followed him ; and he led them home another way : and then he and his mother went back, and found a plate of gold, five inches broad at one end, four at the other, and almost six long, which was beautifully chased and engraved. The goldsmith to whom it was sold said he supposed it to be part of a crown. It weighed one ounce, twenty pennyweights, sixteen grains.

1753. APRIL 17, there was found a piece of hollow brass in the form of a semi-circle, of about three inches in diameter, two inches of the periphery being left, from each side of which two similar secants, falling on the diameter, cut off from both ends so much as left three quarters of an inch on either side of the centre, where it was open, and near half an inch wide ; but that which re-
2 presents

presents the rim was more capacious and wider than it was at the diameter. At the opposite extremes, near the periphery, were two holes, which went through both sides, each of them large enough for the rivets which were in the hilts before-mentioned, and on the end of which it fitted; which made some think it was the pomel of one of them. It contained less than half a noggin, and weighed less than an ounce.

1753. MAY 23, a man found a piece of hollow gold, in the form of the point of the scabbard of a small sword; which weighed one ounce, twenty-three pennyweights, seventeen grains.

MAY 25, was found a weapon of the same form with that found in 1748; but the metal of this was more refined; and a goldsmith upon tryal found there was some gold in it. Close to the hilt, on the thick part, was engraved an oblong square, about half an inch long, a quarter broad, and about one sixth of an inch deep, wherein was inlaid a piece of pewter which just fitted it, with four channels cut in it, in each of which was laid a thin bit of fine copper, so that they resembled four figures of 1. The blade weighed two pounds five ounces.

JUNE 12, there was a small hollow piece of brass found, about two inches and a half long, of a cylindrical form, open at one end, and about three quarters of an inch in diameter; the other end resembled the instrument used by coopers in cleaving twigs.

JUNE 25, was found a gold vessel much in the form of our chalice, except that the handle was curved; the cup was bulged and cracked, but, opened to its full capacity.

city, would contain almost a pint. The handle and cup were chased and engraved, and weighed ten ounces, twelve pennyweights, twenty-three grains. The bottom was broken off, and not found.

1753. JUNE 30, two thin leaves of gold were found folded in each other, like childrens hats, each about three inches in diameter. The crown of one of them was in the form of a cone, and smooth, and contained less than a thimble: the crown of the other was broken off, and the leaf was broken and cracked in many different places. The people who found them being very poor, John Damer, of Shronehill, esq; the proprietor of the land, gave them the weight in gold coin for them, viz. a guinea and a half.

JULY 17, was found a piece of gold almost in the form of a large scallop-shell. For the reason before given, the same Mr. Damer gave the weight as before, viz. fourteen guineas and a half.

JULY 21, a man found two pieces of gold, the one almost in the form of a man's thumb, and hollow at one end; the other was an oblong square, about three inches long, about an inch broad, and as thick as a guinea: both weighed three ounces, nine pennyweights, twenty-one grains. At the same time, he found a lump of coarse brass, which weighed above a pound, and seemed to have remained in the ladle after casting something. There was the same day found about two grains weight of gold twist.

AUGUST 12, a boy found a bit of gold two inches long, as thick as a child's finger, that seemed to have been cut off of a larger piece on the edge of an anvil; for, from the small end to where it was cut, it increased in thickness, and weighed one ounce seven grains.

OCTOBER

1753. OCTOBER 7, a man found something in the form of a bow, about six inches long, which to appearance seems coal-black polished wood; but it is very heavy, and grates like a stone; half of it is a semi-circular, and very smooth; the inside and other quarter are each flat, and form a right-angled triangle: about an inch of its length is three quarters of an inch solid. On either end was a thin plate of gold, which entirely covered about half an inch of it, quite through which on either end went a small screw, so as to have bound the plate fast to it, and fastened a chain which hung between both ends. This little chain, which was gold, and the plates, he broke off, and sold without weighing for 2*l.* 7*s.* The wood is in the possession of Mr. Damer.

FROM the 25th of May, 1753, to the 12th of September, were found thirteen whole blades of the same make and form of that found 1748; some of which were above two feet long, some less, and three not above fourteen inches. Most of them were hacked and knotted from the strokes of other weapons. Those that were not so long were not so broad or substantial as the longest; for they decreased in all dimensions as well as in length; but the hilts of the shortest were as long as those of the longest. There were also found five more, so bent, that the part called the handles (though they are not the handles, only those things on which the handles were fastened by the rivets) almost touched the points. There were also found forty-three pieces of those parts of the swords wherein the rivets stood; some more some less in proportion, than half the length of the blades: and twenty-nine of the parts with points, after the same manner, some more, some less; but there were very few of the pieces with points.

points and hilts which entirely fitted each other. All these things, of which a description has been attempted, were found in different parts of the bog; but most of them about the centre, where they lay very deep."

AT the first laying this paper before the Society, I suggested a cautionary doubt respecting the difficulty, as it appeared to me, of reconciling the very exact description of the forms, and the very precise account of the weights, of things which were said to have been so studiously secreted when found, and afterwards so carelessly and ignorantly sold. Since that, upon writing to the Rev. Mr. Armstrong, I have received the following explanation: "That the account which he sent was drawn up by Mr. Nash, " of Cullen, a young man who went to the college at Dublin in " the year 1754, and died soon after. This Mr. Nash, who drew " up the narrative, found many of the things himself, and was," as Mr. Armstrong is informed, " very careful and exact in " weighing and describing them." Mr. Armstrong adds, " That " he had conversed with him, and that he thought him to be a " sensible young man, who might be depended on." Mr. Armstrong then adds, respecting another point of enquiry which I troubled him with, " As to the image said to have been found " there, I only heard of it in conversation with the late most " worthy Mr. Damer; who told me, that his neighbour, Mr. " William Chadwick, who then rented the lands about Cullen " of Lord Thomond, informed him, that a long time before " [above sixty years ago] a large wooden image was found in a " part of the bog, and that little pins or pegs were stuck in different parts of it; and that Mr. Damer imagined, that the little " gold plates found there, one of which I saw with him, were " suspended by these pegs in different parts of that image. Mr. " Chadwick, who was not curious in such things, told Mr. " Damer,

"Damer, that he made a gate-post of it. I have made the most careful enquiry I could about it amongst the oldest persons in the neighbourhood, and cannot hear the least account of it,

"I beg leave to send you an account which I lately got from one Mr. Cleary, an inhabitant of Cullen, of some things found in that bog within these few years.

1760. A WOMAN, making a fire of turf, found in one of the sods, which she broke, a thin plate of beaten gold, with five small square ingots, which weighed two ounces, four penny weights, three grains, and were sold in Limerick for four guineas and a half.

1762. A MAN found something in the form of a triangle, one side of it about one inch and a quarter in length, the other about two inches; with seven small ingots of gold inclosed in it, much in the form of grains used in weighing gold coin, but thicker in proportion than a guinea; which he sold without weighing for six pounds five shillings.

1763. IN June, in digging for turf there were found at the bottom of the holes several skulls of men surprizingly thick and round.

1764. A MAN found, on the east side of the bog, an uncommon piece of gold, larger than a French crown, which weighed one ounce three grains.

1765. A MAN found about an handful of gold, in small bits not much thicker than a straw, and about a quarter of an inch long. All weighed two ounces, some grains.

1769. JUNE 14, a man passing by a stack of turf, saw a thin plate jutting out of one of the sods, which weighed two ounces and a half, and eleven pennyweights.

1771. A BOY found, in the border of the bog, a piece of gold, about six inches long, much like the pipe of a trumpet, hollow in the middle; which weighed three ounces, fifteen pennyweights, twenty-one grains.
1773. A MAN found, in digging the bog, a skull with two horns shaped like those on Kerry sheep, but longer. No person who has seen it can tell to what beast the skull belonged."

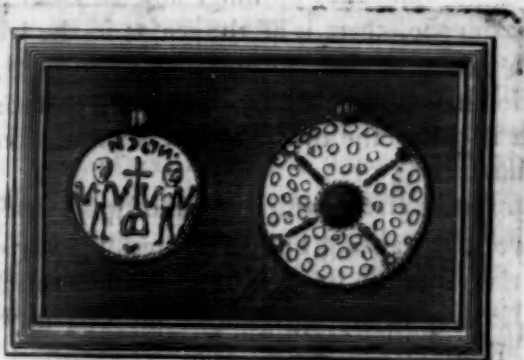
MR. ARMSTRONG then proceeds: "I have had the persons of that village repeatedly informed, that I would give the highest price for any thing found there. Yet still they carry them privately to Limerick. I have got the head mentioned in the paper; and, if you think it would be worth your acceptance, I will have it sent to Major Vallancey, who may find some opportunity of conveying it to you."

I MUST confess, for my own part, that the explanatory account above is satisfactory to almost every point; and that the additional account, given by Mr. Cleary, is to every degree of evidence corroborative of it; and as such I now add it to what I had before written on the subject. Those, whom it does not strike as matter of fact, may receive it as very curious matter of enquiry, and as such not unworthy to be made known.

T. POWNALL.

**XLII. Observations on Two Jewels in the possession of
Sir Charles Mordaunt, Bart. By the Rev. Mr.
Pegge.**

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, 22 December, 1774.



THESE two pieces were dug out of a bank near Lord Willoughby de Broke's seat at Compton-Mordock, *alias* Compton-Vernai, in the county of Warwick, *A. D.* 1774. Three sculls were found with them lying in a row. The pieces had been suspended on the necks of two of the parties there interred, as being their most valuable trinkets; and are now the property

perty of Sir Charles Mordaunt, a respectable member of this Society, on whose estate they were found*.

THE larger jewel, which has the loop remaining by which it had been suspended, affords nothing to betoken its age; it is, however, enriched with two rubies (the two others being broken out of their sockets); and the stone in the middle is thought to be a cat's eye, or opal, and is a fine one, of the size of a large pea. The surface of the stones is not table-wise, but round like a bead, with a lustre nevertheless. There is a Roman road, the *Foss*, very near the place where these jewels were found; but, as there were no ashes, nor appearance of burning, and the lesser piece is undoubtedly a Saxon one, there is all the reason in the world to believe they both belong to this last-mentioned nation. All we can conjecture, in relation to this larger piece, is, that being of gold, and so rich in gems, the owner of it was unquestionably a person of good rank.

IN regard to the lesser piece, which is also of gold, and has a cross between two rude standing human figures, by way of supporters, with a reverse of the same, and on both sides this inscription *NO L M*. it may be adjudged with some certainty to the beginning of the Eleventh Century.

THE first letter of the inscription is M, for on the Saxon coins M is often formed as it is here^b. I conceive therefore that it denotes the Virgin *Mary*, to whom the church of Worcester is sacred; and the figure consequently under that letter must be supposed to be the Virgin. The second character is the Saxon mark for *And*, thus *ȝ*; and the two next letters being plainly OS (the

* They were first brought to Lord Willoughby; and he sent them to Sir Charles.

^b Camden, tab. L. 16. III. 28, 29. IV. 3. 15; 18. V. 13. 15. 21.

square, or rather lozengy O, being common in these times^c, as likewise was the horizontal S^d), the figure underneath must have been intended for St. Oswald, who acceded to the see of Worcester A. 960, and sat there till A. 992. This prelate, who was likewise archbishop of York (holding Worcester *in commendam*), did all he could to establish monks at Worcester^e, and actually built a new church at the monastery of St. Mary there, which by degrees became the cathedral; as now it is, after being rebuilt by Wulstan II. on a somewhat different site^f, A. D. 1088. The whole legend is therefore clearly *Mary and Oswald*; and the piece must have been struck about A. D. 1020, after Oswald was become a saint of note, and probably by the Monks, or the bishop of Worcester, namely St. Wulstan, who was then sitting. What vastly confirms our interpretation, the greater altar, after the re-edification of the church, was dedicated 1218 to St. Mary and St. Oswald^g; which seems to have been done from these two saints having been usually joined together there, as we see them on this jewel. As to St. Oswald in particular, Wulstan II, on his finishing his new church 1088, "caused the relicks of St. Oswald to be inclosed in a new shrine, prepared for that purpose, and solemnly deposited them therein, on the 12th of October the same year, at the expence of se-

^c See the coins of Edbert of Northumberland; Kenulf of Mercia; Elfred of Northumberland; and of Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury.

^d Camden, Tab. I. 26. II. 32. III. 25. IV. 36.

^e He was in other respects a mighty patron of Monks: witness what he did at Ramsey. Camden, col. 505. Drake, Eborac. p. 410. And was reciprocally in high esteem with the Monkish writers.

^f Val. Green's survey of the city of Worcester, p. 37.

^g Camden, col. 623. Green, p. 34. Thomas's Survey of the church of Worcester, p. 125. Annal. Vigorn. p. 483. The middle altar was allotted to St. Peter and St. Wulstan. Camden, *ibid.*

" venty--

"venty-two marks of silver". And another new church, the former having suffered by fire, 1202, was actually consecrated to the honour of St. Oswald, along with St. Mary and other saints, in 1218, by bishop Silvester¹. All which circumstances shew the high esteem in which Bishop Oswald was held at Worcester as a saint.

THE work of this jewel is extremely rude; and, as the type is the same on both sides, as no minter's name is expressed, and there is a hole in it to hang it by, one cannot deem it a coin, but rather an amulet, of the nature of an *Agnus Dei*, to be worn about the neck. Indeed, the weight, more than thirty-one grains, plainly shews it was not intended for a coin, this not according with the weight of the penny at that time. But it seems something extraordinary, that Christians in the Eleventh Century (for the parties here interred were undoubtedly Christians) should be buried in a place where there was no church or oratory that we know of. This I can no otherwise account for, considering the rank of these persons, than by supposing that they fell on some sudden rencounter, and were as hastily interred.

IN the "*Series of Dissertations on some Anglo-Saxon Remains*," published 1756, may be seen (N^o 2. of the Plate, and p. 23) a silver coin, with two saints, St. Mary and St. Peter, very much resembling the piece under consideration, and minted by Wulstan II, archbishop of York, about the same time with this.

ON the whole, Sir Charles Mordaunt's gold medal, mean as it is in the workmanship, is extremely curious, and may be termed an *Unic*, being the only one of the kind that has come to our knowledge. For this reason, I intreated Sir Charles to favour me with a drawing of both the sides, to shew that there was no

¹ Green, p. 33.

² *Annal. Vigorn.* p. 483.

variation in them, being well assured, that the exhibition of it to this Society would be very gratefully received, and that the curious would think themselves highly obliged to him for the communication.

SAMUEL PEGGE.

Whittington, 7 Nov. 1774.

XLIII. *An Account of the Body of King Edward the First, as it appeared on opening his Tomb in the Year 1774. By Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Bart. V. P. S. A. and F. R. S.*

Read at the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, May 12, 1774.

THE royal warrants repeatedly issued by King Edward the Third, and his two immediate successors, directed to the treasurer and chamberlains of their exchequer, *De cera renovanda circa corpus regis Edwardi primi*; and the total silence of all our historians, and public records, as to a similar attention having been paid to the corpse of any other of our deceased monarchs; are circumstances, that not only indicate the high veneration in which King Edward the First was held during a long series of years after his decease; but when considered, together with the strong injunctions under which, it is said, that king in his last moments laid his son, to send his heart to the Holy Land, attended by 140 knights, and to carry his remains along with the army until Scotland was reduced to obedience, gave rise to an opinion, that upon his decease a more than ordinary care was taken to preserve his body from putrefaction; and that, in subsequent times, the utmost endeavours were used for preventing its decay.

At this distant period, it became difficult to ascertain how far such an opinion may be founded on truth; more especially, as the historians, who flourished in the reigns of his son and grandson, Edward the Second and Edward the Third, afford very little infor-

information on the subject; and as there are not now remaining, either in official books, or elsewhere, any *memoranda* of the particular manner in which the corpse of King Edward the First was treated previous to its being laid in the sepulchre.

WEEVER, who is the earliest of our English writers that take notice of the before-mentioned instruments, *De cera renovanda*, appears to have made some enquiry into the purpose for which they were issued. That author, speaking of the death of King Edward the First, says — “Such was the care of his successors “to keep his corpse from corruption, that the cearecloth, wherein “his embalmed body was enwrapt, was often renewed, as doth “appear upon record.” Mons. Rapin, relying on the same authority with Weever, asserts, that the body of King Edward the First was done over with wax^b. And Mr. Dart speaks of it nearly in the words of Weever, whose book he refers to^c.

In the year 1770, our worthy and truly respectable member, the Honourable Daines Barrington, whose incessant literary pursuits are confessedly employed for the emolument as well as the edification of the publick, stated to the Society the above circumstances, together with his sentiments thereon. At the same time, he expressed his ardent wishes, that the corpse of Edward the First, as entombed in the collegiate church of St. Peter at Westminster, might be inspected, in order to examine the state of preservation in which it then was; and whether any remains of the composition, supposed to have been used to prevent its decay, were discoverable^d. His zeal for obtaining such inspec-

^a Funeral Monuments, p. 462.

^b Hist. of England, Vol. I. p. 385.

^c Hist. and Antiq. of the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster, Vol. II. p. 31.

^d In three letters read at the Society of Antiquaries on the 25th of January, and 1st of February, 1770.

tion did not however rest satisfied with having barely propounded his wishes to the Society. He frequently applied to the Reverend Dr. John Thomas, the dean of Westminster*, by means of his learned friend Dr. Blair, one of the prebendaries of that church, for leave to open the royal tomb.

THE application, extremely delicate in itself, was received by the dean with that becoming and natural politeness which renders him peculiarly amiable to all his acquaintance, and attended to by him in a manner which evinced his desire to oblige, so far as might be consistent with the importance of the favour asked, and a strict observance of the duty of his immediate station. After having maturely considered the request, and taken every imaginable precaution for preventing any injury being done, either to the sarcophagus, or its royal contents, the dean fixed the second day of this month for its being opened; which was accordingly done, in the presence of himself and two of the prebendaries.

THE tomb of King Edward the First, built in the form of an altar-table, stands at the West end of the North side of the Confessor's chapel, and at the head of his father King Henry the Third's monument, from which it is separated by the stair-case and entrance, leading from the ambulatory into the chapel. It is in length, from out to out, nine feet seven inches; in height, from the floor of the chapel to the upper edge of the cover-stone, three feet seven inches; and is composed of only five slabs of Purbeck marble, each of them three inches in thickness. Two of these slabs form the sides, two the ends, and one the cover.

This tomb, which is quite plain, except that the under edge of the cover-stone is chamfered, or sloped off diagonally towards its upper edge, is raised upon a basement of free-stone, which, ex-

* Now bishop of Rochester.

tending every way near two feet beyond the tomb itself, forms an ascent to it of two steps above the pavement of the chapel. Each of these steps is six inches in height. On the South side, and at each end, it stands open to the chapel: but on the North side it is defended from the ambulatory by a grating of strong iron-work. The smaller upright bars of this grating terminate at the height of five feet, in a fleur de lis; and the two standards, or end bars, finish in a small busto of an elderly man with a long visage. A like busto is also placed in the front part of the frame of the baldoquin, or canopy, built over the tomb. The workmanship of each of these busto's is very rude. And yet they have so much resemblance of the face of King Edward the First, as exhibited on his coins, broad seal, and statue at Caernarvon castle, that there is not much room to doubt of their having originally been intended to represent that monarch.

THE inscription, EDWARDVS PRIMVS SCOTORVM MALLEVS HIC EST. PACTVM SERVA. 1308. mentioned by several historians, as being placed on the North side of the tomb, is now greatly defaced, but not so much as to render it altogether illegible.

THE form of the letters in this inscription, and the date 1308, put, as is supposed, by mistake, instead of 1307, the year in which the king died, are urged as reasons for imagining that the inscription was not placed on the tomb until many years after the king's decease.

BUT, on the other hand, it is to be observed, that the letters of the inscription placed round the monument of King Edward the Confessor, which was erected in the reign of King Henry the Third, are exactly similar to those of the inscription here spoken of; those of both inscriptions being manifestly Roman capitals.

ON opening the tomb, the cover-stone was found to be uncemented to the end and side slabs; and towards the upper edge of the latter were observed some small chasms, or holes, which seemed to have been made by the insertion of an iron crow, or some such instrument, and to have been afterwards filled up with fine plaister. The joint between the top and sides, although made extremely close, was also drawn with the same material. As soon as the two ends of the cover-stone were raised upon three courses of blockings prepared for that purpose, there appeared within the tomb a plain coffin of Purbeck marble, laid on a bed of rubble stone, which had been built up to such a height from the floor, as was necessary for bringing the upper side of the coffin-lid into contact with the under side of the covering stone of the tomb. This coffin, from out to out, is in length six feet seven inches, and in depth one foot and four inches. The breadth, at the shoulders, is two feet seven inches; in the middle, two feet three inches; and at the feet, one foot and ten inches. The thickness of each side of this coffin, as also that of its lid, which is cut out of a block of Purbeck marble, is three inches. The lid hath not ever been cemented to the sides of the coffin, but appeared to be so closely and neatly fitted to them, that scarce any dust could penetrate through the crevice. The outside of this coffin is stained with a yellowish paint, or varnish, and is much smoother than the outside of the tomb, partly owing to its having been less exposed to the air, and partly owing to the imposition of the varnish. On lifting up the lid, the royal corpse was found wrapped up within a large square mantle, of strong, coarse, and thick linen cloth, diaper'd, of a dull, pale, yellowish brown colour, and waxed on its under side.

THE head and face were entirely covered with a *sudarium*, or face-cloth, of crimson sarcenet, the substance whereof was so much

much perished, as to have a cobweb-like feel, and the appearance of fine lint. This *fudarium* was formed into three folds, probably in imitation of the napkin wherewith our Saviour is said to have wiped his face when led to his crucifixion, and which, the Romish church positively assures us, consisted of the like number of folds, on each of which the resemblance of his countenance was then instantly impressed.

WHEN the folds of the external wrapper were thrown back, and the *fudarium* removed, the corpse was discovered richly habited, adorned with ensigns of royalty, and almost intire, notwithstanding the length of time that it had been entombed.

Its innermost covering seemed to have been a very fine linen cerecloth, dressed close to every part of the body, and superinduced with such accuracy and exactness, that the fingers and thumbs of both the hands had each of them a separate and distinct envelope of that material. The face, which had a similar covering closely fitted thereto, retained its exact form, although part of the flesh appeared to be somewhat wasted.

It was of a dark-brown, or chocolate colour, approaching to black; and so were the hands and fingers. The chin and lips were intire, but without any beard; and a sinking or dip, between the chin and under lip, was very conspicuous. Both the lips were prominent; the nose short, as if shrunk; but the apertures of the nostrils were visible. There was an unusual fall, or cavity, on that part of the bridge of the nose which separates the orbits of the eyes; and some globular substance, possibly the fleshy part of the eye-balls, was moveable in their sockets under the envelope. Below the chin and under jaw was lodged a quantity of black dust, which had neither smell nor coherence; but whether the same had been flesh, or spices, could not be ascertained.

ONE of the joints of the middle finger of the right hand was loose; but those of the left hand were quite perfect.

NEXT above the before-mentioned cerecloth was a dalmatic, or tunic, of red silk damask; upon which lay a stole of thick white tissue, about three inches in breadth, crossed over the breast, and extending on each side downwards, nearly as low as the wrist, where both ends were brought to cross each other. On this stole were placed, at about the distance of six inches from each other, quatrefoils, of philligree work, in metal gilt with gold, elegantly chased in figure, and ornamented with five pieces of beautiful transparent glass, or paste, some cut, and others rough, set in raised sockets. The largest of these pieces is in the centre of the quatrefoil; and each of the other four is fixed near to the angle: so that all of them together form the figure of a quincunx. These false stones differ in colour. Some are ruby; others a deep amethyst: some again are sapphire; others white; and some a sky-blue.

THE intervals between the quatrefoils on the stole are powdered with an immense quantity of very small white beads, resembling

Walsingham, in his account of the coronation of Richard II, mentions, that the king was invested with a stole;—*primo tunica Sⁱ Edwardi, et post, ejusdem Dalmaticâ, projecta circa collum ejus stola.*

In the coronation ceremonies of Henry VII, and VIII, the armyls are described to be made in the form of a stole wovyn with gold, set with precious stones.

Henry VI. is said to have been arrayed, at the time of his coronation, as a bishop that should sing Mass, with a dalmatic like a tunic, and a stole about his neck. Ms. W. Y. in the College of Arms.

The investing with a white stole, *in modum crucis in pectore*, is particularly mentioned in several foreign ceremonials. Goldastus in the *Constitutiones Imperiales*, vol. I. p. 95. speaking of Maximilian king of the Romans, says, *induebatur cum sandaliis, et stola alba in modum crucis in pectore*; and other ceremonials, printed in Martene, have the same words.

pearls,

pearls, drilled, and tacked down very near each other, so as to compose an embroidery of most elegant form, and not much unlike that which is commonly called, The True-lover's Knot.

THESE beads, or pearls, are all of the same size, and equal to that of the largest pin's head. They are of a shining silver-white hue; but not so pellucid as necklace-beads and mock-pearls usually are.

OVER these habits is the royal mantle, or pall, of rich crimson sattin, fastened on the left shoulder with a magnificent *fibula* of metal gilt with gold, and composed of two joints pinned together by a moveable *acus*, and resembling a cross garnet hinge. This *fibula* is four inches in length, richly chased, and ornamented with four pieces of red, and four of blue transparent paste, similar to those on the quatrefoils, and twenty-two beads or mock-pearls. Each of these pastes and mock-pearls is set in a raised and chased socket. The head of the *acus* is formed by a long piece of uncut transparent blue paste, shaped like an acorn, and fixed in a chased socket.

THE lower joint of this *fibula* appears to be connected with the stole, as well as with the chlamys; so that the upper part of each of the lappets or straps of the stole, being thereby brought nearly into contact with the edge of the royal mantle, those straps form, in appearance, a guard or border thereto.

THE corpse, from the waist downward, is covered with a large piece of rich figured cloth of gold, which lies loose over the lower part of the tunic, thighs, legs, and feet, and is tucked down behind the soles of the latter. There did not remain any appearance of gloves: but on the back of each hand, and just below the knuckle of the middle finger, lies a quatrefoil, of the

* Several of the gentlemen present at opening of the coffin thought them to be real seed pearls; but all of them being exactly of the same size, hue, and shape, militate against that opinion.

famer

same metal as those on the stole, and like them ornamented with five pieces of transparent paste; with this difference, however, that the centre-piece in each quatrefoil is larger, and seemingly of a more beautiful blue, than those on any of the quatrefoils on the stole.

BETWEEN the two fore-fingers and the thumb of the right hand, the king holds a scepter with the cross made of copper gilt. This scepter is two feet six inches in length, and of most elegant workmanship. Its upper part extends unto, and rests on, the king's right shoulder.

BETWEEN the two fore-fingers and the thumb of his left-hand, he holds the rod or scepter with the dove, which, passing over his left shoulder, reaches up as high as his ear. This rod is five feet and half an inch in length. The stalk is divided into two equal parts, by a knob or fillet, and at its bottom is a flat ferule.

THE top of the stalk terminates in three bouquets, or tiers of oak-leaves, of green enamel, in *alto relievo*, each bouquet diminishing in breadth as they approach towards the summit of the scepter, whereon stands a ball, or mound, surmounted by the figure of a dove, with its wings closed, and made of white enamel.

ON the head of the corpse, which lies within a recess hollowed out of the stone-coffin, and properly shaped for its reception, is an open crown or fillet of tin, or latton, charged on its upper edge with trefoils, and gilt with gold; but evidently of inferior workmanship, in all respects, to that of the scepters and quatrefoils.

THE shape and form of the crown, scepters, and fibula, and the manner in which the latter is fixed to the mantle, or *chlamys*, exactly correspond with the representation of those on the broad-seal

seal of this King, as exhibited by Sandford in his Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens in England^b.

ON a careful inspection of the fingers of both hands, no ring could be discovered. However, as it cannot be supposed that the corpse was deposited without that usual attendant ensign of royalty, we may with great probability conjecture, that, on the shrinking of the fingers, which must have been the consequence of length of time, and the operation of the anti septic applied to them; the royal ring had slipped off from the finger, and buried itself in some part of the robes, none of which were disturbed in order to search for it.

THE feet, with their toes, soles, and heels, seemed to be perfectly entire; but whether they have sandals on them or not is uncertain, as the cloth tucked over them was not removed.

ON measuring the body by a rod, graduated into inches divided into quarters, it appeared to be exactly six feet and two inches in length. So that, although we may with some degree of propriety adopt the idea of those Historians, who tell us, that the king was taller than the generality of men; yet we can no longer credit those, who assert, that he was taller by the head than any other man of his time. How far the appellation of *Long Shanks*, usually given to him, was properly applicable, cannot be ascertained, since the length of the *tibiæ* could not be truly measured, and compared with that of the *femora*, without removing the vestments, and thereby incurring a risque of doing injury to the corpse.

ONE of our Historians, Thomas Walsingham, Hist. Angl. p. 43 and 44, thus describes him. — “Elegantis erat formæ, staturæ procerae, qua humero et supra communi populo præeminebat. Caesaries in adolescentia a colore pene argenteo ver-

^b P. 120.

“gens in flavum : in juventute vero a flavo declinans in nigritudinem : senectutem in cygneam versa canitiem venustabat. Frons lata, caeteraque facies pariliter disposita, eo excepto quod sinistri oculi palpebra demissior paterni aspectus similitudinem exprimebat. Lingua blaesa, cui tamen efficax facundia ad persuadendum in rebus non defuit perorandis. Brachiorum ad proportionem corporis flexibilis productio, quibus vivacitate nervica nulla cujusque erant ad usum gladii aptiora. Pectus ventri prae-eminebat. Tibiarumque longa divisio equorum nobilium cursu et saltu sessoris firmitatem prohibuit infirmari.”

It hath been conjectured, that he obtained the nick-name of *Long-shanks* from a manifest disproportion in the length of his thighs and legs to that of his body. But on inspection of the corpse, so far as could be done without removing the robes, no such disproportion was observable. Perhaps, therefore, we may not deviate from truth, should we suppose, with Mr. Sandford¹, that such appellation was given to him on account of the height of his stature, and not from any extravagant length either of his thighs or legs.

THERE is still preserved in Westminster-abbey, among the figures that compose what is there called *The Ragged Regiment*, the effigy which, according to the custom of ancient times, lay upon Edward the First's coffin during the funeral procession and exequies; and which figure in all likelihood was afterwards placed on his tomb, and there continued a considerable time: for Peter Langtoft, who did not survive that monarch above six years, speaking of his death and burial, says:

From Waltham before said to Westminster thei him brought.

Besides his fadre he is laid in a tomb well wrought,

Of marble is the stone and *portraid* there he lies².

The length of the legs in this figure, measuring from the sole of the foot to the cap of his knee, is twenty-one inches and an

¹ Genealog. Hist. p. 127.

² Langtoft's Chron. v. II. p. 341.

half; and the height of the whole figure, six feet five inches and an half. No positive conclusion, however, can be fairly drawn from thence, as to what was the exact stature of King Edward the First, or as to the proportion which the length of his legs bore to that of the whole, or any particular part of his body: because this figure was certainly made taller than the real stature of the king, as is evident, not only from the before-mentioned measure taken of the royal corpse, but from the cavity of the stone-coffin, which is not capable of receiving a body six feet five inches in length. Probably, the figure-maker, according to the practice of those times, applying his attention principally to the making a perfect resemblance of the features and visage of the defunct, neglected to model and form the figure to the exact and real height of Edward's stature.

THE apparelling the corpse of this monarch in his royal vestments, accompanied with the ensigns of regality as before described, is not, on any account, to be considered as a peculiar mark of respect paid to him in contradistinction to preceding kings, but as being done merely in conformity to usual and ancient custom.

HE was on this occasion, habited *more regio*, i. e. in the same manner that the corpses of all other kings, his predecessors, had been dressed, in order to their sepulture: and similar, except in some few particulars only, to a mode or regulation established by authority, *De exequiis regalibus*. A copy of this regulation is entered in the *Liber Regalis*, immediately after the formulary for the coronation of our English monarchs.

IT runs thus:

“DE EXEQUIIS REGALIBUS CUM IPSOS EX HOC SEculo MI-

“GRARE CONTIGERIT.

“CUM rex inunctus migraverit ex hoc seculo, primo a suis cubi-

“culariis, corpusejusdem aqua calida sive tepida lavari debet; deinde

D d d 2

“balsamo,

“balsamo, et aromatibus unguetur per totum. Et postea in panno
 “lineo cerato involvitur; ita tamen quod facies et barba illius tan-
 “tum pateant. Et circa manus et digitos ipsius, dictus pannus ce-
 “ratus ita erit dispositus, ut quilibet digitus, cum pollice utriusque
 “manus, singillatim insuatur per se; ac si manus ejus cirothecis li-
 “neis essent coopertæ. De cerebro tamen et visceribus caveant
 “cubicularii prædicti. Deinde corpus induetur tunicâ usque ad
 “talos longâ; et desuper pallio regali adornabitur. Barba vero
 “ipsius decenter componitur super pectus illius. Et postmodum,
 “caput cum facie ipsius sudario serico cooperietur. Ac deinde co-
 “rona regia aut dyadema capite ejusdem apponetur. Postea indu-
 “entur manus ejus cirothecis cum aurisfragiis ornatis; et in medio
 “digito dextræ manus imponetur annulus aureus aut deauratus.
 “Et in dextra manu sua ponetur pila rotunda deaurata, in qua
 “virga deaurata erit fixa, a manu ipsius usque ad pectus protensa,
 “in cujus virgæ summitate erit signum dominicæ crucis, quod su-
 “per pectus ejusdem principis honeste debet collocari. In sinistra
 “vero manu sceptrum deauratum habebit usque ad aurem sinistram
 “decenter protensum. Ac postremo tibiæ et pedes ipsius caligis
 “sericis et sandaliis induentur.

“TALI vero modo dictus princeps adornatus, cum regni sui
 “pontificibus et magnatibus, ad locum quem pro sua sepultura
 “eligerit, cum omni reverentia deferetur, et cum exequiis regali-
 “bus honestissimæ tradatur sepulturae.”

THE reasons for assigning splendid attire to imperial and royal
 corpses, arose from the constant prevailing custom of exposing
 them to open and public view, either within the royal palace, or
 in some church, cathedral, or monastery, until such time as they
 were deposited in their tombs. On this occasion, a veneration for
 the memory of the defunct suggested, that he should appear as
 honourably vested when dead, as upon the greatest solemnities he
 did

did whilst living. A similar practice of arraying the dead in those habits of splendor, dignity, and ceremony, to which they were intitled in their life-time, antiently extended itself to those of inferior degree, as well clergy as laity ; most of whom were usually buried in the dress properly belonging to their respective qualities. Thus emperors were entombed in their imperial, and kings in their regal robes ; knights were interred in their military garments ; bishops were laid in the grave in their pontifical habits ; priests in their sacerdotal vestments ; and monks in the dress of the particular order to which they belonged.

CONSTANTINE the Great, as Eusebius acquaints us in his life¹, was put into a chest of gold, being first clothed in the imperial purple, a diadem on his head, and decorated with ensigns of royalty ; and in that manner laid in the grave. On the Normans demolishing the tomb of king Clovis in the church of St. Genevive, parts of his royal robes, and several jewels and other treasure, were found therein². The remains found in the tomb of Childeric, first king of the Franks, on their being discovered at Tours, shewed that he had been buried in his royal robes, and with his regalia and coronation-ring³. The corpse of the emperor Charlemagne, being first embalmed and dressed in imperial robes, was placed as sitting upright in a chair within his sepulture ; having a sword girt on his side, an evangelisterium in his hands, and on his head a diadem, or circlet of gold, on which was the figure of the cross. From the under side of the diadem hung down a *sudarium*, that covered his face. On the wall, opposite to him, were suspended his scepter of gold, and his shield of the same metal, which had been consecrated by pope Leo the

¹ Lib. iv. 66.

² Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 53.

³ Chiffletii Anastasia Childerici regis.

Third*. In this position he was found on opening the tomb, in the reign of Otto the Third†; at which time his body was so entire, that even the nails remained as growing on the fingers and toes.

OTHER examples of the continuance of this custom might be added; but on the present occasion, it will be sufficient to consider such instances only as relate to the corpses of those kings who have swayed the scepter of this kingdom.

UPON rebuilding the abbey-church of St. Peter, Westminster, by king Henry III, the sepulchre of Sebert, king of the East-Angles, was opened; and therein was found part of his royal robes, and his thumb-ring, in which was set a ruby of great value.

IN June 1766, some workmen, who were repairing Winchester cathedral, discovered a monument wherein was contained the body of king Canute. It was remarkably fresh, had a wreath round the head, and several other ornaments of gold and silver bands. On his finger was a ring, in which was set a large and remarkable fine stone; and in one of his hands was a silver penny‡.

IN the reign of king James the Second, upon searching the chest which contains the body of king Edward the Confessor, there was found, under one of the shoulder-bones of the royal corpse, a crucifix of pure gold, richly enamelled, and suspended to a golden chain, twenty-four inches in length, which, passing round the neck, was fastened by a locket of massy gold, adorned with four large red stones. The skull, which was entire, had on it a list of gold, or diadem, one inch in breadth, surrounding the

* Monach. de Engolcsm. in vitâ c. 24.

† Chron. Novaliciense, N° 32.

‡ From the information of Edward King, esq.

temples;

temples; and in the chest lay several pieces of gold-coloured silk, and linen*.

IN the year 1522, the tomb of William the Conqueror, in the abbey-church of St. Stephen at Caen, was opened, and the body appeared as entire as when it was first buried, and royally cloathed; but we are not informed what the particular vestments were*.

IN 1562, the Calvinists broke open the tomb of Matilda, wife to William the Conqueror, in the abbey of the Holy Trinity at Caen, and discovered her body apparelled in robes of state, and having a gold ring set with a fine sapphire on one of her fingers*.

IN the reign of king Charles the First, the monument of William Rufus, in Winchester cathedral, was opened, and therein were found the dust of that king, some reliques of cloth of gold (undoubtedly parts of the royal vestments), and a large gold ring*.

* Kees's Antiquities of Westminster-abbey, vol. II. Appendix.

* Antiquités de Normandie.—At the same time, a picture of the royal remains, in the condition they then appeared, was painted on board by an eminent painter of the place, and hung on the wall of that abbey-church, opposite to William's monument, where it remained until the rioters, under the admiral Chastillon, plundered the abbey; at which time the picture fell into the hands of Peter Hode, gaoler of Caen, and one of the rioters, who converted one part thereof into a table, and used the other as a cupboard-door. These being discovered four years after, and reclaimed by Mons. de Bras, an officer of the town, remained in his possession till his death; since which event it is unknown what is become of them*.

* It is called L'Abbaye aux Dames, and was founded by the duchess Matilda about the same time that the duke began to erect that of St. Stephen in the same city*.

* On the ring's being taken off from her finger, it was given to the then lady abbess madam Anna à Montmorency, by whom it was presented to her father the Baron de Conti, constable of France, when he attended Charles the IXth to Caen in the year 1563*.

* Rapin.

* Les Recherches et Antiquités de la Province de Normandie.

THE younger Henry, who died in the life-time of his father Henry II, anno 1183, was buried in the vestments that had been consecrated at his coronation. *Corpus in lincis vestibus quas habuit in consecratione, sacro chrismate delibutis, regaliter involutum* apud Rotomagum delatum est.*

KING Henry the Second, according to the same author, and other authorities, in 1188, when prepared for burial, was dressed in royal apparel. He had a crown of gold upon his head, gloves upon his hands, golden sandals upon his legs, spurs on his heels, a great ring upon his finger, the scepter in his hand; and was girt with a sword. *REGIO indutus apparatu, coronam in capite habens auream, et chirobecas in manibus, calceamenta auro texta in pedibus, et calcaria, annulum magnum in digito, et in manu sceptrum; accinctusque gladio, discooperto vultu jacebat†.*

It must be acknowledged, that Giraldus Cambrensis, speaking of the death and funeral of Henry the Second, expressly contradicts Matthew Paris; but he does it in words that fully prove the general prevalency of the practice here spoken of. *Qualiter annulo, sceptro, corona, cunctisque fere quae regias decebant exequias, in fine caruerit‡.*

IN reference to the above practice, king Richard II, by his last will, directed that his body should be apparelled either in velvet or white sattin, according to royal custom, and interred, together with his crown and royal scepter, but without any precious stones on them: and that likewise, according to royal usage, a ring, with a precious stone in it, of the value of twenty marks, should be put on his finger.

* M. Paris, p. 141.

† *Ib.* p. 151.

‡ Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, II. p. 382.

ITEM volumus & ordinamus quod corpus nostrum in velveto vesabanae blanco, more regio, vestiatur, & etiam interretur, una cum corona & sceptro regis deauratis, absque tamen quibuscumque lapidibus; quodque super digitum nostrum more regio annulus cum lapide pretioso, pretii sive valoris viginti marcarum monetae nostrae Angliae, ponatur*.

SOME difference between the habits and regalia found with the body of king Edward the First, and those by the before-mentioned regulations *de exequiis regalibus*, directed to be used on those occasions, is observable. The most striking is that of the scepter with the cross being placed in king Edward the First's right hand, instead of an orb or mound, as mentioned in the regulations.

THAT the orb or mound, surmounted by the figure of a cross, was from antient times used by the Eastern and Western emperors as a symbol and ensign of empire and extensive dominion, will not be denied. That it was considered as such in this island must be equally certain, since all our monarchs, from Edward the Confessor inclusive, are represented on the obverse of their great seals, as royally habited, and holding in their left hand a ball surmounted by a cross.

It is not, however, to be inferred from these circumstances, that the orb was in early times deemed to be a part of the regalia either of England, or other kingdoms, more especially as it is not enumerated as such in any of the antient rituals.

THE coronation ceremonial, used in England during the Saxon times, a copy whereof is published by Mr. Selden^b from an antient pontifical, mentions no other regalia than *the sword, the crown, and the scepter*. The *Ordo Romanus antiquus de divinis*

* Rymer's Foed. Tom. VIII. p. 75.

^b Titles of Honor, Part I. Chron. viii. p. 151, &c.

catholicae ecclesiae officiis, which was compiled in the eighth century*, speaks only of *the sword, the armills, the pall, the ring, the rod, the scepter, and the crown.*

THE ceremonial for the coronation of king Edward the First^a, the coronation-roll of king Edward the Second^a, and the *liber regalis*¹, as also the pontifical which was drawn up by command of Charles the Fifth of France, and used at his coronation *anno* 1363^a, are all equally silent as to the orb or mound: and so is the Pontificale Romanum Clementis VIII, Pont. Max.^b Thomas Walsingham is the earliest of our historians who mention the orb as making part of the regalia; and yet he speaks in such terms, as seem to indicate that the scepter with the cross, and the orb or mound, were originally one and the same ensign of royalty; for, in his account of the coronation of king Richard the Second, after telling us, that when the archbishop had placed the scepter of royal power in the king's right hand, he gave the rod with the dove into his left, he adds—*nam sceptrum quod susceperat, consurrexit de rotundo globo aureo quem tenebat in manu chirothecata, et habebat in summitate signum crucis*¹.

SUPPOSING then that the scepter of royal power, or, as it is usually called, the scepter with the cross, and the orb or mound surmounted by the figure of a cross, were originally one and the same ensign or scepter, and did not become different and distinct parts of the regalia till a long time after the death of king Edward the First (a matter which will be fully considered in a dis-

* Bibliotheca Patrum, Tom. VIII. p. 467, 468.

^a Registrum de Evesham in Bib. Harleiana.

^a Amongst the records in the Tower of London.

¹ In the archives of Westminster-abbey.

^a Laurentii Bochelli Decretorium ecclesiae Gallicanae.

^b Antwerpiae, 1627.

^a Walsingham's Hist. Ang. p. 196.

sertation on the regalia, which I propose hereafter to lay before the Society), the seeming difference between the regalia found with the corpse of Edward the First, and those mentioned in the regulations *de exequiis regalibus*, becomes reconciled.

THE hands and fingers of the respective figures of king Henry the Third, and king Edward the Third, now remaining on their tombs, in great measure strengthen this supposition, they being represented exactly in the same position wherein those of king Edward the First now appear to be placed, viz. as holding with ease and dignity a scepter in each hand. Those figures have indeed long since been dispossessed of those ensigns of royalty, but evident marks of their having been placed in the hands of the figure of king Henry III. are visible; and the lower parts of the stalks of the scepter, which were formerly in the hands of the figure of king Edward the Third, still remain in them.

THE present non-appearance of gloves on king Edward's hands is far from being an admissible argument for his having been entombed without those parts of established sepulchral dress.

It hath been before observed, that our kings, when carried to their sepulchres, were habited nearly in the same manner, and adorned with the like regalia, as at the times of their coronations: and the antient coronation rituals and ceremonials direct, that on those solemnities gloves shall be placed on the king's hands, and that such gloves shall be made of fine linen.

It then, conformable to that practice, and the mode prescribed by the regulations *de exequiis regalibus*, gloves were placed in the hands of king Edward's corpse, and such gloves were made of so slight a material as fine linen, they could not long have resisted the injury of time, but necessarily must have long since perished and fallen into dust. That this was the fact in the present case is

clearly evident from the quatrefoils of goldsmiths work, which, according to the regulations *de exequiis regalibus*, were to be fixed on the gloves put on the defunct, being still remaining on the backs of king Edward's hands.

KING Edward the First was seized with a dysentery during his march against the Scots, and died at Burgh on the sands, on Friday the 7th of July, 1307, the anniversary of the translation of St. Thomas Becket^{*}. Whilst he lay on his death-bed, he in-joined the earls of Pembroke, Northumberland, and Lincoln, the lord Clifford, and others his attendants, to acquaint his son, that it was his positive and dying commands, that his heart should be sent to the Holy Land, attended by one hundred and forty knights, who should have thirty-two thousand pounds of silver for their maintenance whilst thus employed; and that his corpse should remain unburied, and be carried in the van of the English army, until such time as Scotland was quite reduced to obedience. Little or no regard, however, was paid to these commands; for, in a council summoned on receiving the news of his death, it was ordered, that the bishop of Chester, who had been his treasurer, assisted by the officers of the late king's household, should conduct the royal corpse to Waltham abbey, there to remain until such time as all matters necessary for carrying on the war in Scotland were settled, and the young king could find leisure to give proper orders for his father's interment.

THE corpse was accordingly removed from Burgh, with great funeral pomp; many of the principal nobility, Peter cardinal of Spain, and great numbers of the clergy, meeting it on the road, making processions, and assisting at the masses which were sung in all the churches where it rested. Whilst the body continued

^{*} Chronicon Thomae de la More, Thomas Wikes, M. Westm. W. Hemingford, Thomas Walsingham, &c.

at Waltham, which was seventeen weeks, six religious, chosen weekly out of the neighbouring monasteries, watched it night and day, and none of them were permitted to depart without special licence obtained from those to whom the conduct of the funeral was intrusted¹.

At a parliament held at Northampton fifteen days after Michaelmas, pursuant to the writs of summons which bare teste the 26th day of August^a, the royal funeral was fixed for Friday the 27th day of October, and to be performed in Westminster-abbey, with all the honors becoming so great a monarch^b. Hereupon the royal corpse was removed to London, where, on the first night after its arrival, it rested in the church of the Holy Trinity; on the second day, it was carried into the church of St. Paul; and on the third, to that of the Friars-minors. From thence it was brought, in an open chariot, to the abbey-church of St. Peter at Westminster, in the presence of a great concourse of the nobility and others; and there on the next day, after mass had been said by five bishops and the cardinal of Spain, was with great solemnity intombed in the chapel of Edward, King and Confessor; Anthony Beck, patriarch of Jerusalem, and bishop of Durham, reading the last mass and the funeral service; the bishop of Winchester, the gospel; and the bishop of Lincoln, the epistle^c. On the 30th of October, the young king issued his writ to the archbishop of Canterbury, commanding masses, dirges, and prayers, for the soul of the late king, in all churches and religious houses throughout his province. And the like writs were sent to all bishops and abbots, the master of the order of Sempringham, the general of the order of Friars-minors, and

¹ Walsingham's Hist. Ang. p. 95. Hemingford, Wikes.

^a Rot. Claus. 1 Edw. II. m. 19. dorso.

^b Continuatio Annalium Trivetii.

^c Walsingham *ibid.* Hemingford, Langtoft's Chronicle, vol. II. p. 342.

to the provincial prior of the Friars-preachers, in England¹. At the same time, the cardinal of Spain granted one year's indulgence, and the pope five, to all persons who should say a *pater noster* and an *ave* for the soul of the departed king².

WHAT further marks of respect were paid to the memory of our English Justinian, whose valour, piety, and unwearied application to the welfare and prosperity of his subjects, had justly acquired him the appellation of "*The good King Edward*;" whether any, or what, particular methods were subsequently made use of for preserving his body from decay; or whether any peculiar acts of devotion were in after-times performed at his tomb; cannot now be ascertained, unless the several before-mentioned warrants, *De cera renovanda circa corpus regis Edwardi*, should lead to the discovery. These warrants occur on the liberate, close, and patent rolls of Edward III, Richard II, and Henry IV³; and have a more than ordinary claim to our consideration, since no warrants of a similar kind appear to have been issued in favour of the corpses of any other of our kings. The earliest of these warrants hitherto found, is entered on the liberate roll of the 13th year of king Edward III. m. 5, and runs thus:

Rex thesaurario et camerariis suis salutem. Mandamus vobis quod ceram circa corpus celebris memorie domini Edwardi regis Anglie avi nostri in monasterio Westmonasterii humatum existentem, de denariis de thesauro nostro, renovari faciatis, prout hactenus fieri consuevit. Tste custode predicto apud Berkhamsted sexto die Julii. Per ipsum custodem et concilium.

¹ Rot. Claus. 1 Edw. II. m. 17. dorso.

² Walsingham, Hemingford, Langtoft.

³ See Rymer's *Fœdera* under those reigns.

THE like warrants, *mutatis mutandis*, are repeated on the rolls of his 14th^a, 16th^a, 17th^a, 18th^a, 20th^a, 21st^a, 24th^a, 25th^a, 26th^a, 28th^a, and 29th^a, years: on those of the 1st^a, 2nd^a, 6th^a, 8th^a, and 9th^a, years, and twice in the 11th^a year, of king Richard the Second: as also on the rolls of the third of king Henry IV^l. After that time, no such warrants are to be met with on record.

THAT warrants of the same import, regarding king Edward the First's corpse, had been issued previous to that of the 13th year of king Edward the Third, is rendered highly probable by the words *ceram renovari faciatis, sicut hactenus consuevit*; which words of reference to former practice occur in that, as likewise in all the subsequent warrants issued for the same service.

HAD the first warrant that was issued been preserved to us, it undoubtedly would have better explained what was the honor thereby intended to be paid to the deceased king, and the reasons for it. Weever, as hath already been observed, is the first of our writers who mention any of these warrants; one of which, to wit, that of the 1st of Richard II. m. 42. he recites *verbatim*^m. Rapin, who tells us that the corpse of king Edward the First was carried from Waltham to Westminster-abbey, where it was covered over with wax, and laid by Henry his father, plainly relies

^a Rot. Claus. p. 1. m. 6.

^a Rot. Claus. p. 1. m. 3.

^a Claus. p. 2. m. 26.

^a Claus. p. 1. m. 6.

^a Liberat. m. 5.

^a Liberat. m. 3.

^a Claus. m. 1.

^a Claus. m. 51.

^a Claus. m. 46. Claus. m. 4.

^a Funeral monuments, p. 463.

^a Liberat. m. 6.

^a Liberat. m. 5.

^a Claus. p. 1. m. 5.

^a Liberat. m. 1.

^a Claus. m. 17.

^a Pat. p. 1. m. 31.

^a Claus. p. 1. m. 29.

^a Claus. m. 33.

^a Claus.

on the above authority in Weever; for although his editors quote *Acta Publica*, tom. II. p. 1089; *Matt. Westm.* and *Thomas Walsingham*; neither of those books mention a single word of the king's body being *waxed*. King Edward the First's manner of declaring, on his death-bed, his great solicitude for carrying on the wars against Scotland and in the Holy Land, naturally suggested to his executors a necessity for the embalment of his corpse; and this was enforced by the unsteadiness which appeared in the councils of his son Edward the Second as to the disposal of the old king's body, since it could not long be kept out of the grave without some extraordinary means being used for its preservation. It hath been thought, that a conformity to the usual practice of exposing royal corpses to open view at every place where they rested, and the length of way the body of Edward was carried before its arrival at the place of sepulture, might in his particular case make it necessary to renew the embalment; and farther, that the prevailing opinion, that it was expedient to keep the corpse in a condition to be carried from place to place, if required, occasioned a yearly renewal of the antiseptic medications, and of the cerecloth in which the body was wrapped. This mode of accounting for the annual issue of the warrants, *De cera renovanda circa corpus regis Edwardi*, is plausible; and the date of all of them being either in the month of June, or that of July, may be urged as a further argument, that the then extraordinary warm season of the year was considered as increasing the necessity of taking precautions for preventing putrefaction.

HOWEVER, supposing the facts to have been as here stated, many gentlemen, of great erudition and historical abilities in the present age, although they adopt the sentiments of Weever and Rapin, yet doubt, whether the *cera*, directed by the warrants to be renewed, was the *cerecloth* immediately next to the royal body, or the outermost *waxed wrapper* in which it was found enclosed.

WAX

WAX was in very early times made use of for preserving bodies from putrefaction, as we are assured by Tully; who, in his *Tusculan Questions**, says, *Condiunt Aegyptii mortuos, Persae etiam cera circumlitos condiunt*. In later times, and more especially since the establishment of Christianity, and the custom of burying in churches was introduced, wax hath occasionally, and indeed not unfrequently, been applied to the same purpose, but in a manner different from that antiently practised, being no longer used singly and by itself, as a plaister or unguent, wherewith to cover, anoint, daub over, or embalm, the dead, but as one of the principal of those ingredients, which, being mixed and incorporated together, maketh that antiseptic compound, wherewith the cerecloths, used for wrapping up the corpses of kings and persons of high rank, are usually spread and impregnated.

THE corpse of Henry I, after it had been gashed, and well rubbed and saturated with salt, was inclosed in a bull's hide*; and Henry V, being emboweled, was cloathed in lead†; each of these corpses having, in all probability, been also wrapped up in an inward envelope of cerecloth. The princess Joane, wife of Edward the Black Prince, dying at Wallingford, 9 R. II, her body was wrapped in *cerecloth*; and, being put in lead, was kept till the king's return from Scotland, to be buried in the Grey Friars at Stamford. Elizabeth Tudor, second daughter to king Henry VII, was *cered by the wax-chandler*‡. The body of prince Arthur is said to have been well coiled and well *cered*, and conveniently dressed with spices. The officers of the chaundry, and the clerks of the spicery, came and *cered*

* I. ad fin. Strab. xv.

† Gervasius Cantuariensis, published in the *Decem Scriptores*, p. 1339. Brompton, p. 1023. Polychron, B. vii. p. 282.

‡ Wallingham.

§ Dugdale's *Baronage*, tom. II. p. 7, 8. ex *Wallingham Hist.* p. 216.

¶ Dart's *Westminster*, vol. II. p. 28.

‡ Miscellaneous pieces at the end of Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. V. p. 374. 2d edit.

the corpse of queen Mary, daughter to king Henry VIII, with linen-cloth, *wax*, and with a number of spices very costly¹. A fine double *cerecloth*, &c. for the embalming his late majesty's royal body, was provided by his apothecary². Archbishop Parker allowed George Derham twenty-three pounds for *cering* and dressing his body³. In fact, instances of bodies, as well of nobles, abbots, and persons of still inferior degree, as well as those of kings and sovereign princes, occur so frequently, that it becomes needless to repeat them⁴.

It was this known practice of *waxing* or enveloping royal corpses in *cered* or *waxed* cloths, that induced Weever, Rapin, and others, to determine that the *cera*, by the herein before-cited warrant commanded to be renewed, was the *cerecloth* inclosing the corpse of king Edward the First; an interpretation which they considered as fully justified and confirmed by the context: the words *ceram ex stentem circa corpus*, taken all together, being, in their opinion, more applicable to a *cerecloth*, or antiseptic preparation, than to any thing else, first, because the Latin word *cera*, although in its primary sense it signifies *wax*, yet, as several classical authorities evince,

¹ Ceremonial of the funeral of Mary queen of England, MS. in the library of the College of Arms.

² In the account of the treasurer of the chambers, from 10 Oct. 1759, to 25 Oct. 1760, are the following articles:

John Ranby, esq; one of his majesty's principal and sergeant surgeons, as a reward for opening and embalming his late Majesty's body, 112*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*

Cesar Hawkins, esq; for the like, 112*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*

John Andrews, surgeon of his majesty's household, for assisting his majesty's sergeant surgeons in opening and embalming his late majesty's body, 55*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*

Thomas Graham, apothecary to his majesty, for a fine double *cerecloth*, with a large quantity of very rich perfumed aromatic powders, &c. for embalming his late majesty's royal body, 152*l.*

³ Appendix to the Supplement to Somner's Canterbury, p. 39.

⁴ See Weever's Funeral Monuments; and Casimir, De incorruptis cadaveribus humatis, printed in Historia et Commentationes academice electoralis scientiarum et elegantiarum literarum Theodoro-Palatinae, Vol. II. p. 309, &c.—Greenhill's Art of Embalming, &c.

is by metonymy also used for a waxen image¹, a book, a tablet², a testament³, and other things made of wax ; and consequently may, with equal propriety, be used as a proper term whereby to express a *cerecloth* ; 2dly, that those words, *ceram existentem circa corpus*, emphatically describe such antiseptic preparation as adhering to the body, and not as denoting any thing placed at a distance from it, more especially on the outside of the tomb, in which last case the expression must have been *circa tum-bam*, and not *circa corpus*, as in the warrants ; 3dly, that from the anxiety shewn by Edward the First, when on his death-bed, to have his body carried about with the army, it is probable that some more than ordinary endeavours were from time to time used ; and that the tomb was frequently opened, in order to examine what renewals of those endeavours were necessary for the continual preservation of the royal corpse. Allowing this to have been the case, not only the renewals of the *cera*, and the peculiarity of the honor which, as we find from those warrants, was shewn to Edward the First, and to no other of our monarchs ; but the reasons for the remarkable plainness of his tomb, the chasms made in its sides and end-slabs ; and for its covering-stone, as well as the lid of his coffin being kept uncemented ; are easily explained and accounted for.

Some difficulties, however, occur to our admitting, at least in the present case, that the word *cera*, signifies a *cerecloth*, or that the expression, *ceram existentem circa corpus*, in the before-mentioned warrants, is to be interpreted the *cerecloth* adhering to, or inclosing, the body. *Ceratum* and *ceratum* are the only words used by Pliny and other classical writers to denote a *cerecloth*. And Carpentier, in distinguishing the meaning of the words *cereus* from that of *ceratus*, says, *cereus* is that which is made entirely of wax, *ceratus* that which is either daubed over

¹ Ovid.

² Juvenal

³ Suet. J. Cas. c. 83.

or encrusted with wax; of both which he produces several instances. Agreeable to this definition, the before-mentioned regulations *De exequiis regalibus*, after telling us that the royal body is to be first washed, and then anointed with balsam and spices, adds, *postea in panno lineo cerato involvitur*, and not *in cera involvitur*, as they would have expressed it had the word *cera* been then known, or used to signify a *cerecloth*. Many other instances might be produced, wherein *cerecloth* is, in the barbarous latinity, called, *pannus lineus ceratus*; but I cannot recollect one to the contrary. Farther: should the words *ceram existentem circa corpus* be translated the *cerecloth which is round the body*, or the *cerecloth adhering to*, or *inclosing the body*, such translation would be introductive of a palpable absurdity, because, in that case, the carrying into execution the directions of the warrants must inevitably have defeated that which, according to the sentiments of the advocates for such an interpretation, was the main purpose proposed to be effected by renewing the *cerecloth*, to wit, the preservation of king Edward's corpse, and the having it ready to be carried about with the army, and exhibited to public view, whenever occasion shall make it necessary so to do: for, if the old *cerecloth* was taken off from the body, and a new one was put on, and fitted thereto, every time obedience was paid to the warrants, *De cera renovanda*, the royal body, by reason of the strong and close adhesion of the *cerecloth* to it, must have received considerable injury from the operation; it being impossible to take off such *cerecloth* without in some degree lacerating the flesh; a circumstance which, after a few repetitions, must have almost totally destroyed the corpse. On the other hand, had the old *cerecloth* been suffered to remain on the body, and new ones from time to time been superinduced, they would soon have formed such a thickness of envelope, as must have prevented all distinction of the several parts. That neither of these

was

was the case, is however evident; for the royal body remains almost quite perfect and entire; hath not the least appearance of having suffered violence, or sustained any external injury whatsoever, except such as proceeds from a gradual decay; and is inclosed in only one, and that a very fine, *cerecloth*, as hath been already mentioned.

A suggestion, consistent with the idea of *cerecloth* being meant by the word *cera* in the several warrants, may possibly be offered; to wit, that the *cerecloth*, directed to be renewed, was not that which was next unto, and in immediate contact with, the body, but the outermost wrapper, or coverlid, wherein the corpse, with all its vestments and regalia, was found inclosed, and which appears, not only to have been strongly waxed on its under side, but still retains, though faintly, an aromatic smell. To such suggestion it may very properly be objected, that, however plentifully the wrapper may have been medicated, and however copiously it may have been spread over, or incrustated with wax, yet that all its antiseptic powers could have but little, if any, effect towards preventing the body from decay, because it is placed at such a distance from it, and folded in so loose a manner over it, as to leave considerable room for the free admission of air.

UNDER these incertainties, with the greatest deference to the judgement of others, and without wishing to obtrude an opinion, I presume to offer a suggestion, that the *cera* which the warrants direct to be renewed was no other than wax-lights, or lamps, kept burning about the royal sepulchre; and that a quantity sufficient for such purposes was in all probability annually delivered to the sacrist of the abbey-church on or about the anniversary of the king's *obit*.

EDWARD the First was not only beloved by his subjects, but held in the highest veneration by the ecclesiasticks and religious

gious of all orders, and more particularly so by the abbot and monks of Westminster, to whom he had been a very considerable benefactor. In the year 1274, a fire, which broke out in the royal palace, communicated its flames to the neighbouring abbey of Westminster; whereby all the lead-work and timbers of the roof were consumed. This damage he forthwith repaired at his own expence, and likewise restored the structure to its former splendor. A short time after, he granted to the abbot and convent lands to the value of two hundred pounds a year, a large sum in those days, twenty pounds whereof he directed to be distributed yearly to the poor^a.

It is well known, that in those times tapers and lamps were usually kept burning, not only at the tombs of great personages, but also at those of people of inferior rank. May it not then reasonably be supposed, that either the abbot and convent, to whom Edward the First had been thus munificent, or his son and successor Edward the Second, might have ordained, that the like religious attention should be paid to the remains of so meritorious a prince; and consequently, that masses were daily said at his tomb, and lights continually kept burning there, in order to invite the faithful to pray for the repose of his soul. It must, indeed, be confessed, that neither our records nor historians mention such observance. But their silence in that respect will not appear extraordinary, when it is considered, that such trifling circumstances as masses and tomb-lights did not properly fall within the plan of the latter, and that great numbers of the former have long since been destroyed. Had not the famous "*Liber Consuetudinum*" of St. Peter's at Westminster been unfortunately burnt in that fire which consumed many other inestimable manuscripts in the Cottonian library, that book would, in all probability, have assured us of the fact.

^a Holinshed's Chron. p. 213.

THE Latin word *cereus*, properly speaking, being that which consists entirely of *cera*, or wax, the large tapers, placed about tombs and at the altars of saints, are in ancient writings generally called *cerei*; and yet they, as likewise the lamps which were kept burning in those places, are not unfrequently expressed by the word *cera*, sometimes with, and sometimes without, an adjunct. Thus in the accounts, given us by ecclesiastical writers, of the rites and ceremonies used in the Romish church, we meet with *cereus paschalis*—*cereus de pascha*—*cereus de S. resurrectione*—and *cereus de pentecoste*—as also, to express the very same things, *cera paschalis*, and *cera ad pascham*—*cera de S. resurrectione*—and *cera de pentecoste*.

UNAM medullam Claromontensem debent de cera paschali ^b.

CERA paschalis ad faciendum cereum de pascha ^c.

CERAM de S. Resurrectione afferunt ^d.

CERA de Pentecoste a sacerdotibus episcopis persolvenda ^e.

HENCE then it is evident, that *cereus paschalis*, *cera paschalis*, *cera ad pascham*, *cereus de S. resurrectione*, and *cera de S. resurrectione*, equally signify those tapers, which, being blessed on Holy Saturday or Easter eve, were lighted every day whilst the Gospel was reading, until Holy Thursday; after which, the Gospel being read, they were extinguished, and used no more until the blessing of the baptismal font, or Whitson eve, when they were again lighted, but on that occasion only; after which, they were made into small candles, for the common use of the altar, and for burning at the funerals of the poor^f. In like manner, by *cereus*

^b Tabularium Celsinacense, a Girardo Constante, cited by Carpentier.

^c Monast. Angl. tom II. p. 40.

^d Vita S. Gervini, inter acta Benedictinorum. fac. 6. pass II. p. 321.

^e Tab. St. Auberti, cited by Carpentier.

^f Constitutiones W. de Bleys, in Wilkins's Councils, vol. I. p. 624. Carpentier's Supplement, art. *Cera Paschalis*.

de pentecoste, and *cera de pentecoste*, we understand those lights or tapers which parish priests used to bring, among other obventions, to their diocesans on Whitsun eve.

DONATIONS of *cera* for the service of the church continually occur in ancient deeds, testaments, and church registers; all of which either absolutely express, or plainly imply, that such *cera* was for tapers, candles, or lights. "*Lego v libras cere in duobus cereis conficiendis—xlv lib. cere de quibus fiant quinque cerei—lego in cera pro lumine—xx solidos ad inveniendum luminare—in cera pro luminare—in cera emenda ad comburendum—dedit unam petram cere—dedit in cera,*" &c. are the usual various expressions in the above-mentioned muniments: and therefore father Mabillon, Spelman, Du Fresne, Carpentier, and other lexicographers, do not hesitate at considering *cereus paschalis* and *cera paschalis* as synonymous. Benedict, abbot of Peterborough, who died anno 1193, by one of his ordinances directs, that the sacrist of that monastery shall yearly provide an albe, to be worn by the abbot "*ad benedictionem cere in vigilia paschae.*" And one of the articles of expenditure at the funeral of Adam de Boothbie, another of the abbots of Peterborough, runs thus: "*In cera eccl. lib.*" By the first of these expressions we can only understand the blessing of the wax (for making tapers) on Easter eve; and by the latter, that 250 pounds weight of wax-lights were used at the interment. Amongst the payments to be made by the vicar of Glynde, in Suffex, is Eccl. Mall. *pro cera xlii.* and amongst those to be made by the rector of St. Thomas at Cliffe, in the same county, is Eccl. Mall. *pro cera xlii.*¹

"ANSELINUS DE FURNES dedit unam petram cere annuatim
" in purificatione sanctae Marie virginis in puram et perpetuam

¹ Gunton's History of Peterborough, in the Life of Abbot Benedict.

² *Ibid.* in the Life of Adam de Boothbie.

³ Eton's Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum, p. 87.

" elemosinam.

"elemosinam.---Adam de Asmunderflawe et Giraldus frater
"suus dederunt duas petras cereæ," &c.

It what has been already offered doth not sufficiently evince,
that *cera existens circa corpus* can mean nothing else but one or
more *cerei* or lights to be burnt, either occasionally, periodically,
or constantly, before the shrine or image of a saint, or round the
tomb of some great personage, for obtaining the prayers of the
faithful for the repose of the soul of the person there buried, the
following instances will go a great way towards proving the asser-
tion; and shew, that such mode of expression is not to be under-
stood as signifying or alluding to the *cerecloth* in which the in-
terred body is wrapped.

—"ITEM lego in cera pro lumine circa corpus meum 11 lib.
"et dimid."

—"LEGO xx sol. ad inveniendum luminare circa corpus meum
"die sepulture mee."

—"LEGO v. lib. cere in duobus cereis conficiendis ad arden-
"dum circa corpus meum."

—"LEGO xxv libras cere, de quibus fiant quinque cerei ad
"comburendum circa corpus meum."

HENRY IV. gave lands to the keeper of the lamps about the
tomb of the duke and duchess of Lancaster in the church of
St. Paul, London, for eight tapers to burn about that tomb, and
to provide wax.

"DEUX torches a l'un couste, et deux a l'autre, et nul autre
"lumiere entour moi."

* West's Antiquities of the Abbey of St. Mary at Furness, App. N^o XL.

† Register of the town of Kingston upon Hull, temp. Edw. III.

"Ibid.

‡ Test. of Sir John Delves, knt. in Register Wytefey, in Lambeth library.

• Test. of Sir William Morley, knt. Register Sudbury, p. 101. b. *ibid.*

† Pat. 10 Hen. IV. p. 1. m. 7. Dugdale's St. Paul's, p. 37.

‡ Test. D. Barth. de Burwarke, mil. in Regist. Wytefey, in Lambeth library.

— “PAR lumiere entour mon corps.”

“CIRCA corpus meum quinque cereos.”

“CINQUE serges oue les morters en maniere come fust entour
“le corps ma compagne.”

— “CIRCA corpus nostrum in ipsis exequiis quinque cerea, sive
“luminaria cerea.”

QUATUOR magnos cereos de officio sacriste circa corpus posu-
“erunt ardentes.”

“BARRABII circa corpus meum die sepulture mee.”

— “LEGAVIT ad luminaria circa corpus ejus.”

“ITEM do lego in cera emend. ad comburend. circa corpus
“meum die sepulture mee XIII. IIIId.”

— “ITEM in cera pro lumine circa corpus meum 4s. anno
1338.”

— “ITEM do lego pro cera emenda ad comburendum circa
corpus meum die sepulture mee xxxs. anno 1337.”

— “Et in XII. lib. cere emende ad comburend. circa corpus
“meum die sepulture mee viis. anno 1239.”

“DEBET (thesaurarius) invenire duos cereos in obitu episco-
“porum, quorum corpora tumulantur infra ecclesiam, ante tu-
“mulum ipsorum qui debent ardere durante officio mortuorum
“in anniversario die ipsorum.”

^a Test. Roberti comitis Suffolk, *ibid.* f. 111. b.

^b Test. W. Pauli, clerici. f. 120. b.

^c Test. Richardi comitis Arundel, in Regist. Sudbury, f. 97, Lambeth library.

^d Test. Edwardi III. regis Angl. *ibid.* f. 97. b.

^e De Exequiis et Sepultura Ymeris abbatis B. Marie Helluni in urbe Rotho-
mago, an. 1304. MS. in bib. Cotton Domitian. A. IX. 15.

^f Test. J. de Nevil, dom. de Raby. Madox, Form. Angl. p. 129.

^g Test. W. de Laveli. *Ibid.*

^h Register-book of the town of Kingston upon Hull, f. 85.

ⁱ *Ibid.* f. 87.

^j *Ibid.* f. 96.

^k *Ibid.* f. 98.

^l Consuetudines ecclesiae Herefordensis, MS. p. 27.

— “ET il tapers chacun de v l. l'un a ma teste et l'autre a
“mes pes.”

THE *teste* which the several before-mentioned warrants respectively bear, when considered with some other circumstances, may perhaps not only further elucidate, but in a great measure confirm, what hath been here advanced in regard to the purport and real intent of those royal mandates, as also to the true meaning of the word *cera* as used in them.

ALL the warrants, *De cera renovanda circa corpus R. Edwardi*, hitherto discovered, two only excepted, are dated between the eighth day of June and the twelfth day of July inclusive; and of these there are no more than three whose *teste* is subsequent to the *seventh* day of that month. And it is observable, that king Edward the First died on the *seventh of July*, which consequently must have been the regular and fixed day for keeping his *obis*.

THE before-mentioned warrants evidently appear to have been annual, and issued, not in consequence of yearly petitions of the abbot and convent of Westminster to the king, but officially and of course by the proper officers of the crown, and at a certain stated period, pursuant to some standing or dormant order. Similar to this, the tender of tapers, torches, or *wax*, granted or bequeathed to be kept constantly burning round tombs, or to be lighted up either at the time of masses directed to be said daily for the repose of the soul of the person there interred, or at the performance of the anniversary office in his or her commemoration, was always made upon, or a short time previous to, the obituary-day of such defunct in every year. In like manner also, lights given to churches, for the purpose of being kept burning at the altars, or before the images of saints, were constantly delivered to

• Test. de Margaret de Courtenay countesse de Devonshire, in Book Roue, MS. in the College of Arms.

the sacrist upon or about the anniversary of such saint, and not on a day distant therefrom.

THE *teste* of the before-mentioned warrants therefore being in every year nearly coincident with the anniversary of Edward the First's obitual day, and the issue of the *cera* being made annually in like manner as wax, and lights appropriated for burning round tombs and altars, and before the images of saints, were usually rendered; such facts may, without any impropriety, be considered as still farther and very cogent arguments for enforcing an opinion, that the *cera*, annually renewed in consequence of those warrants, was really and truly *wax*, issued once in every year to the sacrist of the church of Westminster, for making tapers and other lights, to be burnt at or round the tomb of Edward the First, and not a *cerecloth*, or any antiseptic preparation applied to the royal corpse.

BEFORE this subject is finally dismissed, it will be necessary to consider the suggestion, that, had not the *cerecloth* round the royal body been annually renewed, that body would have been in danger of putrefaction from the effect of the heats in the summer months. Now, had this actually been the case, the antiseptic preparations must necessarily have been annually renewed long before the months of June or July, because the royal corpse, by means of the warm weather, which not uncommonly happens at the latter end of April, and in the month of May, would have been so far advanced towards putrefaction, that any subsequent application, even of the strongest antiseptics, could not have retarded, much less would they have prevented, its decay: and consequently the idea of the corpse being likely to putrify, unless it was annually embalmed *de novo*, would have suggested the necessity of renewing the antiseptics earlier in the year, and just before the approach of the spring, in order to obviate the impending

impending danger. The improbability of such an apprehension, as that the corpse would putrify, unless the antiseptics were annually renewed, having been entertained during the period in which we find that the royal warrants, *De renovanda cera*, were issued, is evident, not only from the total silence of all historians as to any renewal of antiseptics having been practised in those countries where the bodies of the dead were usually embalmed, but from the state of preservation in which the corpse of king Edward the First remains at present; for, had not the corpse many years before the time in which the issue of the warrants *De cera renovanda* was discontinued, been brought to the state of dryness and solidity in which it still appears to be, it must long since have putrified or fallen into dust.

I HAVE already mentioned, that, previous to the removal of the top stone of king Edward's tomb, the dean of Westminster, who was present from the opening to the shutting it up, had taken every possible precaution that no damage might be done either to the royal body, or its sarcophagus. The like vigilance was observed by him during the time the coffin continued open: so that the corpse did not receive the least violation or injury; neither was it despoiled of any of its vestments, regalia, or ornaments. On the contrary, all things were suffered to remain in the same condition, situation, and place, wherein they were found. After the spectators had taken a sufficient view, the top of the coffin, and the covering-stone of the tomb, were restored to their proper places, and fastened down by a strong cement of terrice before the dean retired from the chapel.

XLIV. *A Letter from Sir William Blackstone, Knt. to the Honourable Daines Barrington, describing an antique Seal; with some Observations on its Original, and the two successive Controversies which the Disuse of it afterwards occasioned.*

Read at the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, March 30, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

THE Seal, which I have the honour to present to the Society through your hands, was found some years ago in pulling down an old house in Oxford. It is made of copper, with a brass handle behind it, which turns down for the convenience of carriage in the pocket. Its breadth is one inch and $\frac{1}{4}$, and its length two inches and $\frac{1}{4}$. Its sides are formed by two segments of a circle, of which the breadth of the Seal is the radius, uniting in a point at the top and bottom. The device is the royal arms, viz. France and England, quarterly; surmounted by an arched crown, and supported by a lion crowned on the right, and by a dragon on the left; in nearly the same attitudes as those stamped on the gold sovereigns of the 34th and 36th of Henry VIII. The dragon evinces this Seal to have been engraved under some of the princes of the house of Tudor; who all used this supporter, in memory of their descent from Cadwallader. And its being placed on the left side, and accompanied by a lion (crowned)
on



on the right, seems to fix it to some period between A. D. 1542 and 1554, or else to the reign of queen Elizabeth. For Henry VII. gave the *rouge dragon* from his first accession (when he also constituted the pursuivant of that name) for his dexter supporter, with the greyhound of the house of York on the left. Henry VIII. in the middle of his reign, transferred the dragon to the left side, and gave one of the lions of England (uncrowned) for his supporter on the right: though, on the gold coin of his 34th and other subsequent years, a crown is superadded to the lion. Edward VI. gave his arms and supporters just as they are represented on this Seal: which were continued by Queen Mary till her marriage; when her arms, impaled with those of Philip, were supported by the Austrian eagle on the right, and the lion of England (crowned) on the left. Queen Elizabeth resumed the supporters of her brother: and James I. on his accession, exchanged Cadwallader's red dragon for the unicorn of Scotland on the left; which, with the English crowned lion on the right, hath been used by his successors ever since.

BUT the inscriptions on the Seal itself will reduce these conjectures to almost a certainty. That round the circumference, in Roman capitals, is as follows,—SIGILLV: REGIAE: MAIESTATIS: AD: CAVSAS: ECCLESIASTICAS—; and that in the exergue, below the royal arms, stands thus,

PRO: DECA

NATV: DE

SONN

YNG

From all which circumstances there seems to be no difficulty to conclude, that this was a seal made in obedience to the Statute

1 Edward

1 Edward VI, chap. ii. which after, *first*, directing the form of electing bishops by *Congé d'elire* to cease, and vesting the absolute and immediate collation to every vacant bishoprick in the crown; and, *secondly*, providing that all process in ecclesiastical courts should be made out in his Majesty's name, but *teste'd* in the name of the ordinary; goes on to enact, *thirdly*, "that all manner of person or persons who hath the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall have from the first day of July next following, in their Seales of office the kinges highnesse armes decently set, with certeine caracts under the armes for the knowledge of the diocese; and shall use no other Scale of jurisdiction, but wherein his Majesties armes be ingraven." And it also seems equally clear, that this Seal was intended for, and probably used in, granting probates of wills, letters of administration, and the like, within the rural Deanry of *Sonnyng* (now usually called *Sunning*) in Berkshire; which is a *peculiar* jurisdiction, belonging to the Dean of Salisbury.

THIS species of Seals has been rarely, if ever, noticed by any of our legal Antiquaries: and the seals themselves, from their scarceness, as well as the controversies they afterwards occasioned, may be regarded as no vulgar curiosity. Their scarceness has arisen from the very short period of time during which they continued in use, and the zeal with which it may be supposed the generality of them were destroyed, on the return of papal authority, under the reign of Queen Mary. For by the Statute 1 Mar. stat. 2. chap. ii. this act of King Edward VI. was (among others) expressly repealed: and that Statute of Queen Mary was no farther abrogated by the subsequent Statute 1 Eliz. chap. ii. than related to the book of Common Prayer; and there-

therefore in every other respect continued in force during the rest of Elizabeth's reign.

BUT among other Statutes of King Edward, repealed by this Statute of Queen Mary, there were two in particular*, which had declared the marriage of priests to be lawful. And these Queen Elizabeth (who disapproved of marriages in her bishops) would never permit to be revived during the whole of her reign. However, at the accession of her successor, those Statutes of Edward VI. were (at the special instance of the bishops and clergy) revived and made perpetual by Statute 1 Jac. I. ch. xxv; the children of all ecclesiasticks were at the same time declared to be legitimate and inheritable; and it was also, by a fatal oversight, enacted, "that the Statute of 1 Mary should stand repealed and void."

THE enemies to our ecclesiastical establishment, who were always quicksighted in discerning its flaws and imperfections, soon availed themselves of so hasty and unadvised a step, as the total repeal of that act, instead of such parts of it only as related to the celibacy of the clergy. They alledged, with great appearance of reason, that, by so absolute and unlimited a repeal, the Statute of 1 Edward VI. chap. ii. was again revived; and therefore that all the bishops who had been made by *Congé d'elire* since the 19th of March 1603 (the first day of that session of parliament) were not lawful Bishops; and that the seals, the stiles, and the process of all ecclesiastical courts, being continued with the arms and in the name of the respective ordinaries, and not of the king, had from that period been contrary to law. This matter was first moved and strongly urged at a Grand conference between the Lords and Commons,

* Stat. 2 and 3 Edw. VI. ch. xxi. 5 and 6 Edw. VI. ch. xii.

touching ecclesiastical causes, on Thursday the first of May 1606; and seems to have made a wonderful impression, at the time, upon all orders and ranks of men. When the conference was reported in the House of Commons on the Saturday, Sir Edward Coke, the king's attorney, confessed, "that the Bishops were "all at the king's mercy; and the Speaker, Sir Edward Phelips (afterwards Master of the Rolls), observed, "that the repealing "of the law of Queen Mary moved from the Bishops themselves". In the other House, the Lords Spiritual were most heartily alarmed at this doctrine; and their alarm was probably heightened by the concession of the king's attorney in the Lower House: they therefore hurried in a bill, on Monday the 5th of May, "to establish proceedings in ecclesiastical courts "and causes, and to abolish sanctuary;" which was read a second time on Tuesday the 6th*.

In the mean time the matter grew so serious, that the king thought it necessary to interpose; and directed the question to be referred to the consideration of the Lord chief Justice Popham, the Lord chief Baron Fleming, and the rest of the judges then attending the parliament, together with the Attorney General: who, upon mature consideration, but with some degree of legal ingenuity, at length concurred in opinion, "that the Act of 1 Edw. VI. chap. ii. was no longer in "force;" it having been repealed, not only *expressly* by the Stat. 1 Mary (which indeed was itself now abrogated), but also *virtually* by two other Statutes. The first of these was the great reconciliatory Statute, 1 and 2 Ph. and M. ch. viii. made under the auspices of Cardinal Pole; which enacts, § 53. "that "the ecclesiastical jurisdictions shall be in the same state as

* Com. Journ. 3 May 1606.

* Lords' Journ. 5 and 6 May 1606.

"they

"they were in the twentieth year of Henry VIII." This statute of Philip and Mary was not totally repealed by 1 Eliz. ch. i. but directed to stand in force against all other statutes thereby repealed and made void, except such as were expressly revived by the said Act of Elizabeth; among which revived Statutes that of 1 Edw. VI. ch. ii. is not one. The other virtual repeal (and by far the more general of the two) was by the same Statute, 1 Eliz. ch. i. For this expressly revived the Statute, 25 Henry VIII. ch. xx. by which last mentioned Act⁴ the mode of creating bishops by *Congé d'elire*, &c. had been first ordained; and therein it was further enacted⁵ that every Bishop so created "might do and execute in every thing" "and things, as any Bishop of this realm, without offending" "of the prerogative royal of the crown, and the laws and" "customs of this realm, might at any time heretofore do:" within which general words the judges held "that the stile" "and seals of the Bishops' courts, and the manner of their" "proceedings, were *inclosed*." This opinion is reported by Sir Edward Coke in the twelfth (posthumous) volume of his Reports⁶, and seems to have been generally acquiesced in; as nothing farther appears upon this subject in the Journals of the Commons, and as the Bill for establishing ecclesiastical proceedings was dropped in the House of Lords, 13 May 1606; a new Bill concerning Sanctuary only being then introduced in its place.

HOWEVER, about thirty years afterwards, this question was again revived. Mr. Prynne and his associates, in their furious attack upon prelacy, having raked together every objection, old and new, that from the first establishment of Christianity had

⁴ § 4 and 5.

⁵ § 6.

⁶ 12 Rep. 7.

ever been urged against the persons or office of Bishops, among the rest had very warmly inveighed against the use of their own stile and arms, instead of the king's, in the process of ecclesiastical courts²; as being contrary to the Statute of Edward VI, now revived by that of 1 Jac. I. From whence it appears that they either did not know (as Sir Edward Coke's book was not then in print), or else did not regard, the resolution of the Judges in 1606; which resolution, although it depended upon a pretty nice and subtile construction of the Statute 25 Henry VIII, yet was certainly of very high authority, and ought to have quieted the controversy: being given upon full consideration, by judges of great ability and undoubted integrity; not extrajudicially, but upon a question arising in parliament, to which they were summoned by the king's writs; conformable to the known intention of the Legislature, which framed the Statute upon which the doubt arose, and was still subsisting and then actually sitting, and which clearly meant nothing more by the repealing clauses than to enable the clergy to marry;—given too in times of tranquillity, when that very Legislature had prepared, and was ready to have passed a new Statute, to explain what its own meaning was, if any doubt had remained with the judges.

BUT the reproaches of Prynne and his party sunk deep into the minds of the bishops, who seem to have been puzzled how to answer them: and therefore on 12 May, 1637, in the course of the proceedings against Bastwick, Prynne, and Burton, archbishop Laud thought it necessary to inform the court of Star-chamber of these imputations, and to desire that the judges' opinions might be taken, how far the proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts were warranted by the rules of law. Whereupon that court directed all the judges to be waited on by

² Breviate of Prelates' intolerable Usurpations, p. 91 to 100. 115, &c.

his majesty's learned counsel, touching three questions then stated by the court, one of which related to the legality of the bishops having used their own stiles and seals in making out ecclesiastical process^a. But the judges being rather tardy in certifying their opinion on these questions, the archbishop in his Dedication to the King of the Speech which he made in the Star-chamber at the censure of the three delinquents, 14 June 1637, (which was printed by his majesty's command, and published the 25th of June^b;) has these remarkable expressions; "I do
"humbly in the Church's name desire of your majesty, that
"it may be resolved by all the reverend judges of England,
"and then published by your majesty, that our keeping courts
"and issuing process in our own names, and the like exceptions
"formerly taken and now renewed, are not against the laws of
"the realm, as 'tis most certain they are not."

BUT before this was done, we find Mr. Prynne, on the 30th of June (the day on which he underwent the most rigid part of his cruel sentence) addressing the people in these words: "The
"prelates find themselves exceedingly aggrieved and vexed
"against what I have affirmed in point of law concerning their
"writs and process; that the sending forth writs and process
"in their own names and under their own seals is against law,
"and doth intrench on his majesty's prerogative royal and
"the subjects liberties." Which position he offered to maintain in a fair dispute against the whole society of the law, and all the lawyers in the kingdom; and added, "If I be not able
"to make it good, let me be put to the tormentingest death
"they can devise^c."

^a Rymer, Foed. xx. 143. Prynne's New Discovery of Prelates' Tyranny. Part i. p. 33.

^b Laud's Diary, 26 June, 1637.

^c Prynne, *ibid.* Part ii. p. 41.

HOWEVER,

HOWEVER, about four days after this, 4 July 1637, there was published in the court of Star-chamber a certificate signed by all the twelve judges, and dated the first of the same month, containing among other things their opinion, that it was not necessary that proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts "should be in the king's name, or with the stile of the King, or under the king's seal, or that their seals of office have in them the king's arms; and that the Statute 1 Edward VI. chap. ii. which enacted contrary, is not now in force". This was ordered to be enrolled in that court, and the king's other courts at Westminster, the high commission and other ecclesiastical courts, and then the original to be delivered to the archbishop, to be kept among his records^a. And the same was soon afterwards published to the whole nation by the king's proclamation, dated 18th of August, 1637^b.

THE uncommon occasion of thus calling for the judges' opinions; the very ungracious manner, in which this certificate was obtained; the judges' delay in signing it; the dryness with which it was worded, not giving any reason why the act of King Edward was now no longer in force; and perhaps too an unfortunate observation, that these were the self-same judges, who, about five months before, had given that fatal extrajudicial opinion in the case of ship-money; all these were concurrent circumstances, that might easily cause this certificate to be received by the public with marks of hesitation and disgust. And indeed the prelates themselves seem to have misunderstood the grounds of it, and to have supposed (contrary to the plain sense of the words and all grammatical construction) that the Statute of Mary was *not totally repealed* by the Statute of James I: whereas the judges' opinion only purports, that the Statute of

^a Rymer, xx. 144. Prynne, *ibid.* Part i. p. 37. Gibson's Codex, p. 925.

^b Rymer, xx. 156. Prynne, *ibid.* 36.

^c Rymer, xx. 168. Gibson, *ibid.*

Edward was not thereby revived. At least Dr. Heylin (who certainly spoke the sense of archbishop Laud), in his answer to Burton*, asserts that the judges were all of opinion, that the Statute of Mary was not repealed. And Mr. Carte, who is in general an accurate and judicious historian, has adopted the same mistake†; being probably led into it by Heylin, since he has also copied another of the Doctor's inaccuracies, in saying that this opinion was delivered by the judges on the fourteenth of May, 1637.

The discontent, which these proceedings occasioned, lay smothered till the general attack upon the bishops in 1640; when they were publicly charged, not only with violating the Statute of Edward VI, but also with "audaciously causing all the judges of England to resolve, and moving his majesty to declare and proclaim, these their disloyal unjust usurpations on his crown to be just and legal." The same was obliquely insinuated in the sixth article of the commons' impeachment of archbishop Laud, 26 February, 1640; and more directly avowed by Mr. Pym, in his Speech on presenting those articles to the house of peers. "In ecclesiastical matters they endeavoured to set up themselves above the king. This was procured by the archbishop to be extrajudicially declared by the judges, and then to be published in a proclamation."

AFTER all, it may seem surprizing that none of these points were insisted on at the trial of the archbishop in 1644; but they were probably found to be untenable, upon better information and advice. And (what is most remarkable) the clamour upon this business subsided all at once; soon after Sir Edward Coke's manuscripts, which had been seized at his death, in 1634, by a warrant from Secretary Windebank, were restored to his execu-

* In quarto, A. D. 1637, in Biblioth. Med. Templ. p. 102.

† Hist. of England, vol. iv. p. 234.

• Prynne, Antipathy of the Lordly Prelacy, p. 517.

• State Trials, i. p. 826.

tors through the intervention of the house of commons, and by them delivered over to his son Sir Robert Coke *. But from the concurrence of these circumstances some conjectures will naturally arise. First, that Sir Edward Coke's Report, of the resolution of the judges in 1606, was probably one of those manuscripts: next, that Archbishop Laud was apprized of this Report, though he did not very clearly understand it; and that this suggested to him the idea of a second reference to the judges in 1637, of the result of which he appears so confident: thirdly, that this resolution of their predecessors, either previously known to the succeeding judges, or now communicated to them by the archbishop, was the foundation of their opinion delivered to the court of Star-chamber: and, lastly, that the same, being now again discovered upon the perusal of the chief justice's manuscripts, was also communicated to the antiprelatical party in 1641; and occasioned that conscious silence, and sudden abandonment of this their favourite objection, which otherwise appear so unaccountable, considering the vehemence with which it had been hitherto urged. The Report itself was not published in print till 1658, five years after the death of Sir Robert Coke. Upon the restitution of the bishops and ecclesiastical jurisdictions in 1660, I do not recollect that this point was at all moved or insisted on, by any of the opponents to their establishment; but the question hath been, as it ought to be, entirely at rest ever since.

I TRUST you will see no impropriety in my subjoining to the description of this antique seal these few observations on its original, and the two successive controversies which the disuse of it afterwards occasioned. And I am certain that every one will see the propriety of addressing them to a gentleman, who has laboured so successfully in elucidating our antient Statutes,

* Com. Journals, 6, 13 Feb. 1640.

of an antique Seal, &c.



425

and has so happily investigated many other of our English antiquities. I am, with great regard,

S I R,

Your most obedient servant,

Serjeant's Inn,
8 March, 1775.

WILLIAM BLACKSTONE.

N. B. A similar Seal was sent to the Consistory Court at Norwich by King Henry VIII.
A. D. 1535. See Minutes of the Society, vol. V. p. 194.

I N D E X.

A.

A BERGAVENNY barony, claim to, 291
Adraste of the Britons, the same
 with *Astarte*, 334
Adriatic, tides in, and surface advanced
 341
Adiles decline giving shews, 343
Aido, new sense of, 232. 235
Aequum, 343
Agincourt battle painted, 189
Aiders to Henry and Francis, 194
Aio, a monk of Croyland, 96. 100
Alatterwas, 110
Alburquerque, duke of, his camp, 255
Αδελφωσιν αγωσ, 132—at *Athens*, 136
Alfrison, Sir Robert, 295
Altam, Roman, at Graham's dyke, 118
 ——— of the *Deae Matres*, 107, 108
 ——— at Corbridge, 109, 110
Antioch chamber, 187
Antiquities found in Ireland, 356
Antony Mark, mixed iron with his coins, 183
Apollis statue on coins, 117
Arch, antient Roman, at *Suplacterqua*,
 346

Ardes, interview between it and *Guinea*,
 223
 ——— view and account of the town, 217
Arduha, 345
Arians, inscription at, 349
Armada Spanish, in tapestry and painting,
 190
Arms on Mr. Foxlowe's horn, 6
 ——— *Ferrers*, imp. *Lancaster*, 7
 ——— of England varied, 6
 ——— of *Lisures*, 16—*Fitz Duncan*, 27
Argenna, a measure of land, 82
Argent, 83
Arfacidas, epocha of, when it com-
 mences, 159
 ——— their descent, 162
Arjakas, meaning of the name, 163
Arthur, prince, his corpse cored, 401
Articles delivered by Henry VIII, for
 regulating his household, 154, 158
Abby, Mr. on a coin of *Nerva*, 165
 ——— 185
Astarte, Greek inscription to, explained by
 Mr. Tyrwhitt, 184. n. 332—by Dr.
 Morell, 333—the same, with *Adraste*,
 334—and others, 335
Athyns, Sir Robert, his sense of the
 word *vineas*, 68
 Iii 2

Auchindavis,

- Auchindavis*, Roman altar, found there, 118
Audeley, and *Heligh* barony, 307
Aufonia, 118
Aurelius, M. his equestrian statue on a coin, 174
Az, Danish, a conveyance, 5
Ayliffe, Sir Joseph, on the Windsor pictures 185—230
—— on the pictures at Cowdry, 239
—— on king Edward the First's body, 376

B.

Bag found in a barrow, 277
Bag-piper, 256
Bayeux tapestry, 186
Banier, his opinion of the *Deae Matres*, 109
Barber, Henry the VIIIth's, 156
Baronies, on their descent through females, 285. 292
—— examples of, 293. 302
Barrington, Mr. on two musical instruments, 29
—— on grapes in England, 67
—— on the expiration of the Cornish language, 278
—— on the Corbridge altars, 324
—— his idea of the warrant *De cera renovanda*, 377
Barrow on Sandford-moor opened, 273
—— in Derbyshire, 274
—— in Orkney, 276
—— on Braich y-dinas, 306
Basinge barony, 300
Ba-reliefs of the interview between Henry and Francis, 199
Battle-royal, 148
Beaufort, Thomas, his body dug up and reburied, 313
—— his portrait, 314
Beaurain, his map of the government of Calais, 216
Becket's consecration painted, 190

Bedal barony, 301
Bede, what he means by *vinas*, 75
Belatucader, proved to be Mars, 101
—— inscriptions to, 101. 104
Bernardi, an antient painter in England, 270
Besage horses, 157
Blackstone, Sir William, on an antient seal, 414
Blythian castle, 114
Bobardel castle, 345
Bononia, 252
Borlase, manor 15, 17—horn, 15—char-tulary, 15, 16
Bouch of court, 156
Bouligne, account of, 251
—— siege of, 253
—— Pharos, 257
Bosworth battle enameled, 189
Bottles, 157
Boucher, Henry, earl of Essex, his portrait, 212
Bracelet found in a barrow, 274
Brandon, Charles duke of Suffolk, his portrait, 212
Braich-y-Dinas, account of, by Governor Pownall, 303
—— by Mr. Banks and Mr. Pennant, 306
Brass used in weapons, 356
Bread for the king's greyhounds, 157
Brecknock castle, 113
Bre-y-Dinas described, 305. 350—compared with *Carne-Bre*, 355
Bre-y-Tinas, or the hill of fire, 353
Brereton, Mr. his tour through South-Wales, 111
—— extracts from Henry the VIIIth's Household Book, 154
Brewers not to use hops or brimstone, 157
Bridge over the Taffe, 114
Bridgenorth and castle, 111
Britanni on the Rhine, 89
Brown, Sir Anthony, his meeting with Henry VIII, 245. 246. his camp 255. his portrait, 263

Buce

INDEX

429

- Brace*, lord, a horn in his possession, 24
Buckingham barony, 298
Buckingham, duke of, disliked the parade of the Champ de drap d'or, 195
Bugle-horn, 11
Burroughs, Dr. James, his plan of Bury-abbey, 311
Bury abbey-church, remarks on, 311
Bury abbey-church, discoveries in, 313
Bust found at Graham-dyke, 223
Cardiff castle, 114
Carmarthen castle, 113
Carrphilly castle, 114
Calais, plan of the siege, 240
Calais, its fortifications, 250
Xαλκούπολις Ἰντρος, 41
Camulodunum, Colchester, 166
Campstret, a title of Mars and Minerva, 121
Dece, 109, 110
Canelli, 110
Canilup, Sir William, 296
Carrew castle, 113
Carlisle horns, 22
Carlism Barony, 297
Cerne, 73
Carnilevaria, 174
Carrig-mann-lyth, 116
Cavalcade, English, at the interview of Henry and Francis, 207
Cera circa corpus, instances of its signifying wax-lights, 409
Cera, } Cerecloth, 403
Ceratum, }
Cera, } a wax taper, 407
Cereus, }
Cerecloth of Edward I., 381
Cerecloth of Edward I., interments in, 400, 401
De cera renovanda circa corpus Edward I., 399-411
Certamina Quinquennalis on coins, 177
Champ de drap d'or, 96
Chapels of the Virgin Mary, two at Bury, 312
Charioteers victories numerous, 168
Chariot-races at Rome, 171
Charlemagne, his corpse, 389
Charles V. pictures of his history, 190
Charles V. arrival at Dover, 197; picture of it, 267
Chesapeake conduit, 268
Chichester cathedral, painting, 270
Childeric's horse shod, 38
Chinese weigh their bullion, 181
Chorier's opinion of the Dece Matres, 106
CIRC. COND. on a coin, what, 177
Circensian games sacred to Neptune, 169
Circensian games, retrenched by Nerva, 169
Cissa, fixed by an inscription, 338
Cistus not used for the purple dye, 338
Clare, St. castle, 113
Climate, its effects on fruits, 54; alterations in, 382
Cliffs, the ancient Hills, inscription at, 343
Cloth of gold over Edward the First's body, 382
Chorus, his corpse, 389
Coal used in Henry VIIIth's palace, 156
Caccius, M., 120
Cockspur-street, 150
Cockfighting, its antiquity, 132; condemned by the Fathers, 146; matches, at Pergamum, 133; among the Greeks and Romans, 143-145; cocks on coins, 136; cocks fighting on coins, 135; on a gem, 136; best breeds among the ancients, 141; on a shield, 137; omen from the crowing, 137; trained and trimmed for fight, 141; to what God sacred, 139
Cock-pit, 139; in London, 148
Coffins, stone in barrows, 277
Coins, statues on, 175—many public monuments on, 172—of restitution, what, 172—several of the same person exactly alike, 173—Parthian, illustrated, 163—of Nerva, singular, explained, 165;—of Hadrian, dated, 177—query, if historically intended, 180—gold modern, counterfeit list of, 181—gold coin, how to preserve, 181—Roman, whether counterfeited, 182—Colony coins counterfeited, 182 of the Dardanians, 135—the Tyaneans, 136
Coin,

- Coin, gold, of Trajan, 118
 Coity castle, 114
 Colchester, in Essex and Northumberland,
 inscription found there, 184
 Collar of rubies worn by Henry VIII. 211
 Column, a rostrate one of Augustus on
 coins, 172
 Conduits, two in the Champ de drap d'or, 205, 206
 Constantine the Great, his corpse, 389
 Constituent statum, 175
 Consualia, 166
 Censur and his games, 179
 Conveyance, ancient modes of, 1
 Corbridge, two altars with Greek inscrip-
 tions there, illustrated by Mr. Bar-
 rington, 324; by Dr. Morell, 332
 Corinthian vase, 65
 Cork castle, 114
 Corn found in a Roman station, 124
 Cornage, 11
 Cornicularius, 11
 Cornish language, on the expiration of,
 278—by whom last written, 279—
 preserved by one or two women, 280
 —not yet entirely extinct, though
 said to be so by Dr. Boileau, h. 281
 Corpses, instances of their being cored, 401
 Corpus Christi College horn, 19
 Corvus, a painter, 227
 Courts, ecclesiastical state of, 416, 425
 Cowdry paintings described, 239—272
 267—observations on, and defence of,
 against Mr. Walpole, 271, 272
 Crake barony, 297
 Crusus, a race horse, n. 169
 Crevinier, Sir Hugh, 295
 Creward, a fowl, 157
 Cromliche, 116
 Cross, St. Ilus's, 116
 Crown of Edward I, 384
 Croiland vineyard, 84; abbey founded,
 97, restored, 98, boundary stone, 99
 Crusade, painted in the Tower, 187
 Crush described, 30; player on it, 32
 Cultivation makes climates warmer, 56
 Cup of gold found in Ireland, 362
 Currants English, 64—wine, 64, 65—
 indigenous in England, 92—of Co-
 rinth, 93—in Sweden and North-
 America, 93
 D.
 Dalmatian Roman inscriptions, 337
 Dalmatic of Edward I, 382
 Dardanian coins, 135
 Dates on coins and inscriptions rare, n.
 177
 —on a coin of Hadrian, 177—quere,
 if intended by consulships and tribu-
 nates, 143
 Dias Matres, who, and whence derived,
 105
 —supposed from Crete and
 Sicily, 109
 —their worship, 110
 —temples, 110, and inscrip-
 tions, 106, 107
 —not deified women, 105
 —local deities, 108
 Defender of the faith, emblems of that
 title, 203
 Delaware, claim to the barony, 291
 Delian cockfighters, 141
 Delmets, on an inscription, 233
 Denarii, true detect false, 181
 Derbyshire barrow, 174
 —new Roman station there, 236
 Dermestes insects, 277
 Desjardes, William, 293
 Deva Getica, n. 182
 Diana on a Roman inscription in Bri-
 tain, 123
 Dies of Roman coins, their variety, 181
 —182
 Dinrover castle, 113
 Dieters, 328, 331—dedicates an altar
 to Hercules, 325
 Dinner-hour t. Henry VIII, 155
 Dittus's Gate and Lane-head Roman
 roads, 237
 Dogs in Henry the VIIIth's court, 155
 Donatus,

INDEX.

431

Donatis, St. castle and cave, 114
Dragon of Cadwallader, 226; supposed
 firework, 224, 225
Dudley barony, 299
Durfin castle, 113

E.

Ecclesiastical courts, state of, 416—425
Eccleston's history of the Friars minors, 128
Edgar's sceptre, 2
Edward Confessor, his life and adventures painted, 187, 188
 — I, his wars, &c. painted, 188
 — account of his body, 376—his
 tomb, 378—bust, 370—coffin, 380—
 corpse, 381—measure of his body, 385
 —his person described by Walsingham, *ib.*—figure in the ragged regiment, 381—particulars of his funeral, 396—his tomb secured, 413
 — III, his noble, 316, coinage, 317
 — IV, and family, 190
 — VI, granting Bridewell, 190
 — his procession through London, 268
Egremont barony, 297
English soldiers habits particularized, 247
Epocha Parthian, settled, 159—164
Epana, who, 121, 122
Ecclesie barony, 299
Essex family, 25
Ethelreda, her history in relieve, 187
De Exequiis regalibus, 388

F.

Fans, lady, her claim to the barony of Abergavenny, 129
Ferrars arms, 51
Fibula on Edward the First's mantle, 283
Firework at the interview of Henry VIII. and Francis I., 225
Firmus M. Gacconius, 120
Fisher, bishop, his portrait, 213
Fitz Duncan, 27

Flouranges, marshal de, his account of the interview between Henry and Francis, 198
Flours de lis of France, when borne there, 6
Foltingham barony, 300
Forster, Mr. on the Parthian epocha, 159—163
Fortis, abbé, his travels in Istria and Dalmatia, 337—348
Fortune, inscription to, 123
Frater de penitentia Jesu Christi, history of their order, 125
French colours set up in the Champ de drap d'or, why, 216
 — attempt to invade England, 261
Frutian legions, 347
Prisiorum } cohorts, 238
Prinagorum }
Frutius, his doubts about a Parthian coin, 162
Fruits, when introduced in England, 91

Furniture of noblemen's houses antiently, 154

G.

Gaffie, 150
Gallica, French, 269
Games, expensive, reduced, 120
Gaiars, family-seat, an extraordinary building, 112
GENIO TERRAE BRITANNICAE, 123
Genius loci, 107
George, St. picture of, by Raphael, 269
George II, cerecloth used round his corpse, 402
Gessoriacum, 251
Gifts to the king's servants who marry, 156
Girardi, abbé, his plated denarius n. 182
Glass vessels found in a barrow, 274
Gloves, none on Edward the First's hands, 295
Gold, number of curiosities found in Ireland, 359—269
Gough,

- Gough*, Mr. on four Roman altars, 118
 — on the *Deus Mater*, 105
Grapes in England, asserted by Mr. Pegge, 53—controverted by Mr. Barrington, 67—only currants, 92, 93—Saxon name for, 89
Grey, marquis of Dorset, his portrait, 200
Grows, 157
Gualley wain, 116
Guinea, history and description of, 200
 — Count de, his civility, 228
Guns, wooden, at the siege of Boulogne, 252
Gay, earl of Warwick, his story on arras, 188
- H.
- Halling* vineyard, 56, 60
Hall's account of the interview between Henry and Francis 195—198
Hames bridge, 250
Hamilton, Sir William, two gems from his collection, 136
Hanselm, Ralph, 293
Harry (Great) a ship, 266
Hautemur, 252
Hay, the, 112
Henchman of king Henry VIII, 211
Henry I, and V, their funeral, 401
 — II, and his son, their manner of burial, 392
 — III, his orders to painters, 187
 — V, his family, and his coronation, 189
 — VII, his banner when duke of Richmond, 215—his landing in tapestry, 190
 — VIII, his portrait, 211, 253—his family, 227—his head cut out of a picture, 228—broke out of another, 253—description of his person, 254—orders for his household, 145—entry into Calais, 190—giving the charter to the barber-surgeons, 190—history of his war with France, 241
Hercules Tyrius, inscription to, 324
Herosis, 122
Hissa, 343
Hieronymianus, 157
Horn, a charter or instrument of conveyance, 1—how long so used, 12
 — Borsfall, 3
 — lord Bruce's, or the Seymour, 24
 — of Corpus Christi gild, 9, 19
 — at Carlisle, 22
 — Danish, 10—12
 — for Drinking, 8, 9
 — teeth of Elephants so called, 8
 — Mr. Foxlow's, 5
 — Hunting, 11
 — of Mortimer earl of March, 10
 — Offices conveyed by, 5
 — of Thomas earl of Ormond, 20
 — Shirewood forest, 24
 — Summoning, 11
 — Ulphus's, 2—7
 — Wirall forest, 2, 3
 — Pusey, 3—13
 — Wistaf's at Croyland, 9
Horses, when shod in different parts of the world, 39, 49—in England, 51—Henry the VIIIth's, 157—duke of Northumberland's, 157
Horse-race at Rome, 169
House, an extraordinary one, 112
Howell Dba, where buried, 115
- I.
- Idomeneus* bore a cock on his shield, 137
Jewels, two Saxon ones, illustrated by Mr. Pegge, 371
Ilus's cross, 115
Image of the sun found in Ireland, 355—357—368
Imperatores nostri, 120
Incloture on Braich-y-dinas, not a for-rification, but a Druid place of worship, 305—307
 Inscription

Inscription on the Pusey horn,	13	K.	
— on the Croyland stone,	96		
— on Maen y Llythurog,	115	KapSajvan, shoes for camels,	49
— on another stone,	115	Kerka river,	345
— on four Roman altars,	119	Kidwelly castle,	113
— to Ops, by Pertinax,	174	Kilton castle barony	301
— antiently seldom dated,	177	King, Mr. on the plan of Bury abbey-church,	311
— on a marble in Ficoroni de Plumbis,	n. 177	Kinsale, the taking of, a picture,	190
— found at Colchester, in Essex and Northumberland,	n. 184	— map of the country round it,	190
— Greek, to Asarte, happily explained by Mr. Tyrwhitt,	n. 184	Knis, antiquities at,	345
— of Edward the Third's noble explained,	320	Knipton, Saintlour, on descent of honours to females,	286
— three Greek from Smyrna,	230	Knute, his coronation painted, 186—his corpse found at Winchester,	390
— two Greek on British altars,	324	Karn,	8
— at Rochisslap,	347	Kynseg castle,	114
— Scardona,	348		
— at Seign,	344, 345	L.	
— another,	346	Lacham castle,	113
— Roman, in Istria and Dalmatia,	337	Lacie, Sir Gilbert,	295
— Roman, found in Derbyshire,	238	Lady chapels at Ely, Lincoln, and Bury on the North side of the choir, as well as at the East end in the two latter,	312
— to Fortune, 123—in Italy,	339	Lambard's authority controverted,	76
— to Belaturader,	101—104	Lambeth, the vineyard,	83
— to Serapis at York,	151	Landscape of the country about Ardres,	233
— to the <i>Deas Matres</i> ,	107, 108, 109	Legio xx victrix, stationed at York,	153
Interview between Henry VIII and Francis I, 185. 190—projected, but fails, 192—effected, 192—list of persons attending, 193—apparel of the English, 195—of the French, 196—accounts of it, 198—represented in bas reliev, 199—the spot exhibited in the Windsor picture, 219		Levett, Sir Walter,	29
Interview between Henry VIII and Maximilian,	190	Liber Regalis,	383
Joane, princess, her corpse cased,	401	Linsley, Sir Gerard,	294
Ireland, antiquities found there,	355	Lichfield palace, adorned with painting,	183
Iron mixed in brass coins,	183	Lissa, ancient lisa, ruins at,	340
Isolaicum Certamen,	179	Lissa in the champ de drap d'or,	220
Istria, Roman inscriptions in,	337	Liqien,	30
Junone, who,	108	Litus of Edgar,	2
Vol. III.	K k k	Lland-ff,	117
		Llanstephan castle,	113
		Llantrissant castle,	114
		Llantrunt,	116
		London, places in and about called <i>Vinea</i> yard,	83
		London,	

- London*, antient view of, at Cowdry, 269
Longshanks, meaning of the name, 385
Λόγις Μαγιστρός, 353
Lowel, lord, portrait of, 189
Low, Mr. his account of Orkney barrows, 276
Lucie, Sir Richard, 297
Luslow castle, 112
Lully, not concerned in English coinage, 319
Lundy, isle, its wine, 81
Lyttelton, bishop, on the Carlisle horns, 22
M.
Mam y Llythyrug, 115
Mam y Velin, 116
Maid of honour, their breakfast, 157
Majesty, the title when given to our kings, 154
Mairabus, 109
Mallet, Sir William, 294
Malmsbury, his description of Gloucestershire and the Severn hiegra criticized, 63—79
Mander, Mr. his account of a barrow, 274
Mantle of Edward I., 383
Manorbhur castle, 113
Map of England, with battles, 190
Margam abbey, 115
— mountain, 115
Marque, John de la, n. 188
Marquison, 246
Mars Belatucader, 101
Martinianus tower, 251
Mary, sister of Henry VIII., her body found, 315
— princess, her corpse cased, 402
Mary Rose alley lost, 265
Mastida, queen of the Conqueror, her tomb opened, 399
Matribus, *Gerudatiabus*, *Gabiabus*, and *Runabebus*, 108
Matras, 106. 107—*Vopibius* 107—*Pannoniorum et Delmatarum*, 107
— *Campetres*, *Sulevon*, *Gallaicas*, *Tri-virar*, *Vacallinebar*, *Brittar*, 108
Matthi Quintin, a painter, 227
Matronae Aufanas, 118
Matthieu Paris MS. with historic paintings, 188
Martock barony, 298
Maidias, a quail-feeder, 134, and cock-fighter, 140
Merley, Sir William, 294
Melandra castle, 236
Memorials of historic facts, made by authority or otherwise, in most nations, 185, 186
Millet, Dr. on Lord Bruce's horn, 24
Minstrels, their wages, 156
Mithridates, II., his conquests commemorated on a coin, 164
Mails and *Maietti*, 157
Moineau fort, 253
Movropas, 142
Money, Roman, coined as bullion, 184
Monstrum, 71
The *Monte*, 255
Montfaucon, on horse-shoes, 44
— his explanation of three Greek inscriptions, 230—232
— his account of the pharos at Boulogne, 257, 258
Moon, a deity, 333—her various names, 333—335
Murell, Dr. on the Corbridge altar, 332
Murlas castle, 114
Murgesson, Henry the VIIIth's encampment there, 250—storm there, 251
Mortars, 156
Mountains in the Venetian state, their strata, 349
Mount of God, 331
Mustbamp, Sir Robert, 296
N.
Neptunus, few antient statues of, 167—rare on coins, 167—Greek coins representing him clothed dubious, 168—sculptures of him found in England, n. 184—patron of the Circensian games, 169
NEP.

- NEP. RED.** 167
NEPTVNO CIRCENS. CONSTI-
TVT. on a coin what 168
Neros reduces the games, 169
 — his wife economy, 171
 — singular coin illustrated, 165
Newman's bridge, 246
Nicolai fort, 246—250
Nigel, Lord of Borsfal, 15
Noble, the first coined in England, 316
 — described by Mr. Pegge, 317—by
 Snelling, 317—by Leake, 318
Nymphs invoked by Hercules, 109
- O.
- Ormore* castle, 314
Oñes not confined to grapes 70
Old Man of Boulogne, 257
Opi, inscription to, preserved on a coin, 174
Orb, not antiently part of our regalia,
 393—first mentioned by Walling-
 ham, 394
Ordré, Tour de, 257—baron de, *ib.*
Ordnay barrows, 276
Ormond horn, 20
Ornament found in a barrow, 275
Ὀψιγροντία, 145
Ὀψιγροντία, n. 140
Ὀψιγροντία, 134
Ufwald, bishop, commemorated on a
 gem, 373
- P.
- Painters* t. Henry VIII, 227. 270
Paintings, historical, in MS. &c. in
 England, 187—at Cowdry, 239—272
 whether by Holbein, 269—at Chi-
 chester cathedral, 270
Palace, temporary, erected by Henry
 VIII, in the Champ de drap d'or, 202.
 205—model of it, 205
Parler, archbishop, his corpse cased, 402
Parthian epochs, when it commences,
 159—mistaken by Valois and Bayer,
 160—source of the error, 161—na-
 tion, their origin Scythian, 161—
 royal families, their origin, 162—
 coin illustrated, 163
Paul's, St. ancient painting of, 269
Pearls on Edward the First's robes, 387
Pegge, Mr. on the horn as a charter of con-
 veyance, 1—on horse-shoes, 39—on
 grapes in England, 53—controverted
 by Mr. Barrington, 67—on Belatruca-
 der, 101—on the Sack-friars, 125—
 on cock-fighting, 132—on an in-
 scription to Serapis, 151—his conces-
 sion to Dr. Percy about the Saxon
 minstrels, 310—on the first noble
 coined in England, 316—on two
 Saxon jewels, 371
Pembroke castle 113
Pen-maen-mawr, described, 303. 350
Pennant, Mr. his survey and draught of
 Penmaen-mawr, 350
Penna, Bartholomew, a painter, 227
Pentblan castle, 114
Pentraeth Dolley, a Cornish woman, speaks
 the Cornish language, 280
Pen y Dinat, 305
Pent, 157
Pergamus, cock-matches 135
Περικλαύρας σιδήρω, 41
Persia, poultry first brought from, 142
Peverell, Pagan, 293
Pewter vessels, not common antiently, 154
Philyria, 234
Pib corn, described, 33
Picardy, boundary between France and
 England there difficult to settle, 193
Picture at Windsor, Sir Joseph Ayloffe's
 account of, 185—by whom painted,
 227—how prevented from being sold,
 229—at Cowdry described, 229—of
 Henry VIII. and Francis I. tiling,
 223
Pliny's account of cockfighting, 145
 description of a cock, 146
Plumbs and pears in the North, what, 74
Plumptre, tenant, by a horn, 3
Po, number of rivers running into it, 342
Pont, 71
Porquet, tower, 252
 K. k. 2 Port

- Port-holes in our ships, when first used, 267
Portsmouth, ancient view of, 263
Powis barony, 301
Pownall (governor), on Croyland boundary stone, 97—on Braich-y-Dinas, 303-350
Priften, Mr. his account of a barrow, 273
Prickets, 150
Priestess to a male deity accounted for, 329
Privy-chamber, Henry the VIIIth's regulations for it, 154, 155
Proclamations respecting Henry the VIIIth's court, 157, 158
Fraud Taylor, a gold-finch, 33
Pulcher, 335, 336
Pullis pugnant, 144
Punta Cissana, inscription there, 337
Purple-fish, and manufactories among the Romans, 338
Puffy horn, 3—manor, 13
- Q.
- Quails*, pitted for fighting very anciently, 133
Quarries, 150
Quatrefoils of stones on Edward the First's body, 382
- R.
- Ramberges*, or French pinnaces, 266
Rafcal, 155
RECEPT. on coins, how to be understood, 176
RED. on coins, what it means, 167
Regalia of England, 394, 395
Regals, 32
Ribes vulgaris, 92
Richard castle, barony, 300
Richard II., his history painted, 188, 189
—his directions about his funeral, 392
Ring on the Borstal horn, 16
—on the fingers of Sebert, Canute, Matilda, and Wm. Rufus, 390, 391
Ring, none on Edward III's fingers, 385
Risbane, for *Rysshrook*, at Calais, 245, 249
Rockbasen on Braich y Dinas, 306
Ractingham, a royal vineyard there, 87
Rumabo, 108
Runners, 157
Rufherus, 122
Rye, *Hubert* of, 294
- S.
- Sac-friars*, and nuns, history of the order, 125—131—houses of, 130—one at Can'rbury unnoticed, 130, 131
Salina, misplaced, 343
Sandisfield, 192
Savern, its forest horn, 24
Scardona, 347
Sceptres held by Edward I., 388
Scullions, regulation of, 145
Sca-fight between the French and English, in tapestry, 190
Seal of the deanry of Sunning, 416
Sebert's corpse found, 390
Seign, ruins at, 343—inscription, 344, 345—amphitheatre, 344
Scraps, his temple and inscription at York, 151
Service by horns, 3
Scymour horn, 24
Shakespeare, passages explained, 32, 33—his account of the interview between Henry and Francis, 196
Shoeing of horses, its antiquity illustrated by Mr. Rogers, 35—by Mr. Pegge, 39—not mentioned in scripture, 42
Shoes, how put on horses anciently, 37, 49—and of what kind, 37—supposed to be introduced by the Thes-salians, 42—more used for mules and asses, 47—for camels, 49—horses, when shod in France, 50—in England, 50—tenure, 50—probably introduced at the Conquest, 51
Sicra, 76
Siege of Boulogne, picture of, 251, 258—history of, 260
Sigilla

I N D E X.

437

Sigillo de, Robert, poisoned by grapes, 81
Sires, 156
Skeletons in Orkney barrows, 277
Smyrna, inscriptions brought from, now in the British Museum, 230
Snelline's description of the first Noble of Edward III, 317
Sniper, 39
Southsea castle, ancient view of, 263
Spartea calcarata, 37—46—48
Spears found in Ireland, 230
Spurs for cocks, 150
Statuum constituere, restituere. statu- 175—178
Statues on coins, 175
Statish barony, 208
Stone, precious, about Edward I, 382
Strange, Mr. his account of Roman inscriptions in Istria and Dalmatia, 337—349
Sudarium on Edward the First's face, 380
Suffolk, duke of, portrait of, 264
Sulevæ Matris, 108—110
Sunning deanry seal, 416
Supplacera, 348
Swinburne barony, 300
Swords found in Ireland, supposed Celtic-thaginian, 355, 356, 362, 365, 367

T.

Tamworth barony, 297
Tanegrian cocks, 143
Tapeltry historic, 186—189
Tidua, or cock-pit, n. 139
Telum, or cock-spur, 150
Templum of Serapis at York, 151
Teshigb castle, 113
Terrace, near Stockton, 112
Twelfthury, Peter de, 128
Thames, why seldom frozen over, 387
Themistocles instituted a cock-match at Athens, 136
Tipperary, a number of golden antiquities found in a bog there, 359—361
Titles, their descent to females, 285
Tomb of Edward I, 378

Toto, Anthony, a painter, 227
Tour Sordre, 257
Tower, leaning, at Bridgenorth castle, 112
 — of London, ancient paintings in, 187
Trojan, 3000 different denarii of, n. 173
Tressen, Sir John, 296
Tressure double, by whom borne, 27
Trevish, an engineer, his sketches and death, 270
Trevissu, Jerome de, a painter, 227
Tudor, house of, its colours, 214
 — Elizabeth, her corpse cased, 401
Tungri, cohort of, 107
Tournament in the Champ de drap d'or, 223
Turris Ardens, 258
Tyrant, Mr. on three Greek inscriptions, 230—his very happy explanation of the Greek inscriptions to Astarte, n. 184
Tyson, Mr. on the Corpus Christi College horn, 20

Vahis' mistake about the Parthian epocha, 360
Vase, gold, found in Ireland, 361
Uchadan of Cuala, a famous Irish artificer in metal, 358
Virgil, Polydore, on horse-shoes, 42
Vesey barony descends to females, 28
VICTORIA VICTRIX, 120
Vinale, 72
Vinbar, 72
Vindemiæ mellis, 71, 72
Vines permitted to the Britanni of Germany, not of Great Britain, 88, 89
Vineæ, supposed by Sir Robert Atkyns and Mr. Barrington to mean orchards, 58
Vinctur, 72
Vincus, 73
Vine-

- Vineyards in England, 60, 61—in
Domesday, 82—in London, 83—at
Lambeth, 83—when introduced and
dropped, 61. 99—of Engedi, 73—not
easily destroyed, 92
Vin de Grave, n. 157
— *du Pays*, 90
Vinitor, 62. 71. 80
Vinum, not confined to grapes, 70
Vipsant, Sir Robert, 295
Tridippalus, horseshoes, 37
Uua Corinthiaca, 93
Uvas retained in the Saxon Testament, 89
- W.
- Waggons, ammunition, singular, 259
Walpole, Mr. his stricture on the Cow-
dry paintings, 272
Warrant de cera renevanda circa corpus
Edwardi regis, 398
Watson, Mr. on a new Roman station, 236
Wax used for corpses, 401
Webley barony, 299
Widhay barony, 302
Werter's account of Edward the First's
body, 377
Welsh main, 149
Westminster abbey, paintings and sculp-
tures, 188
Wight, Thomas, his tomb, 123
William of Malmesbury, of vineyards,
controverted, 63
— the Conqueror, his tomb
opened, and a picture made of his re-
mains, n. 391
— *Rufus*, his tomb opened, 391
- Winbar*, 93
Winberry, 92
Winchester, its name, whence, 85
— paintings in the queen's
chamber, 187
Winders, 157
Windsor, vineyard there, 60, 61—pic-
ture, Sir Joseph Ayloffe's account of, 185
Wine, suppoled from currants, and not
grapes, 61—92
— foreign in England, 90
Wines in Harry the Villith's palace, 156,
157
Winzeapb, 63
Wogan, a cave, 113
Wolsey, cardinal, his portrait, 212
Woodstock, paintings there, 187
Worcester, William of, his measures,
Saxon name for, 89—of Bury abbey,
311
Wrothefley, Sir Thomas, Garter king at
arms, his portrait, 209
- X.
- X singular, 234
- Y.
- Yeomen of the guard, their ancient ha-
bit, and when altered, 210
York, temple and inscription to Serapis
found there, 152
- Z.
- Zara*, Roman pavement at, 342

P L A T E S.

I.	Mr. Foxlowe's, and the Borstall Horn, to face	Page 1
II.	The Pussey Horn, — — — —	13
III.	Plan of Borstall, — — — —	16
IV.	The Horn at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,	19
V.	The Carlisle Horn, — — — —	22
VI.	An antient Horn in the Possession of Lord Bruce,	24
VII.	The Crwth and Pib-corn, — — — —	33
	Croyland Abbey Stone (a small plate)	96
VIII.	Four Roman Altars from Graham's Dyke,	119
IX.	Cocks fighting, from antient Gems, — — — —	136
X.	Inscription to Serapis, — — — —	154
XI.	Three Greek Marbles, — — — —	230
XII.	Plan of Melandra castle, — — — —	298
XIII.	View and Section of the antient Burial-places in Orkney,	276
	— — — —	276
XIV.	The Carn in Braich-y-Dinas—Pen-maen-Mawr,	304
XV.	Plan of St. Edmund's-bury-abbey — — — —	311
XVI.	View of the ruins of St. Edmund's-bury-abbey,	314
XVII.	} Corbridge Altars, — — — —	325
XVII.		
XVIII.	A Plan of the top of Pen-maen-mawr, — — — —	352
XIX.	Antique swords, &c. found in Ireland, — — — —	355
XX.	Antient seal found at Oxford — — — —	414